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Pro-Slavery.

*THE FAMILY RELATION, AS AFFECTED BY SLAVERY.**

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

"First Pure, then Peaceable."

OPPRESSION has existed in every age of the world. Even now, eighteen hundred years since the religion of Jesus was first published to mankind, its beautiful representation that the strong were made strong precisely that they might serve and help the weak is little understood, and less acted upon.

The particular form of oppression known as American slavery was commenced in what all admit to have been an unjustifiable manner. The original seizure of men, women and children, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of bringing them to this country and selling them as slaves, was a system of brutal violence, authorized by no law, and condemned alike by justice and humanity. Those who committed this wickedness are dead, and gone to their account. For their acts, no man now living is responsible.

After this system had been some time in operation as a matter of fact, it began to be recognised and regulated by law; and, in whatever lawless violence slavery first commenced, it now exists, and is carried on, under the control of an accurately defined system of law. To write intelligently, therefore, about slavery as it now is, we must inquire how the existing laws constitute and define it.

Twenty-nine years ago, there was published, in Philadelphia, "*A Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several States of the United States of America; by George M. Stroud.*" This volume has been ever since regarded as the best authority upon the subject of which it treats, and its accuracy and impartiality, so far as we know, have never been questioned. But in the lapse of so many years, changes and additions have been made to these laws; and to meet the wants thence arising, Judge Stroud has published a second edition of his "*Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery*"—"*with some alterations and considerable additions,*" in the autumn of the present year, 1856. This book therefore will show us, precisely and accurately, what slavery is, as now established by law, and what authority every slaveholder is legally authorized to exercise. Such differences as exist between the statutes of the different States are carefully specified in the book; but a substantial resemblance exists between all the slave codes, sufficient fully to authorize the following general statement of

WHAT AMERICAN SLAVERY IS AS ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

I. The master may determine the kind, and degree, and time of labour to which the slave shall be subjected.

II. The master may supply the slave with such food and clothing only, both as to quantity and quality, as he may think proper or find convenient.

III. The master may, at his discretion, inflict any punishment upon the person of his slave.

IV. All the power of the master over his slave may be exercised not by himself only in person, but by any one whom he may depute as his agent.

V. Slaves have no legal rights of property in things, real or personal, but whatever they may acquire belongs, *in point of law*, to their masters.

VI. The slave, being a *personal chattel*, is at all times liable to be sold absolutely, or mortgaged, or leased, at the will of his master.

VII. He may also be sold by process of law for the satisfaction of the debts of a living or the debts and bequests of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or legatees.

VIII. A slave cannot be a party before a judicial tribunal in any species of action against his master, no matter how atrocious may have been the injury received from him.

IX. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, nor obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

X. Slaves being objects of *property*, if injured by third persons, their owners may bring suit, and recover damages to themselves for the injury done to their slaves.

XI. Slaves can make no contract, not even matrimony.

XII. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual.

XIII. A slave cannot be a witness against a white person, either in a civil or criminal cause.

XIV. A slave cannot be a party to a civil suit.

XV. The benefits of education are withheld from the slave.

XVI. The means of moral and religious education are not granted to the slave; on the contrary, the efforts of the humane and charitable to supply these wants are discountenanced by law.

XVII. Submission is required of the slave, not to the will of his master only, but to that of all other white persons.

XVIII. The penal codes of the slaveholding States bear much more severly upon slaves than upon white persons for the same offence.

XIX. Trial of slaves upon criminal accusations is, in most of the slave States, different from that which is observed in respect to free white persons, and the difference is injurious to the slave, and inconsistent with the rights of humanity.

Such are the powers of the master and the disabilities of the slave, as *established by law* throughout the slave region generally.

We know, however, that severe and inequitable laws sometimes stand, a dead letter, on the statute book, long after they have ceased to be put in force. To be assured, therefore, respecting the actually existing character of slavery, we need to make the further inquiry,

ARE SUCH SLAVE CASES AS HAPPEN TO COME BEFORE THE COURTS OF THE SLAVE STATES DECIDED WITH A RIGOUR CORRESPONDING TO THE SEVERITY OF THE CODE ABOVE QUOTED?

As a reply to this inquiry, we quote the ruling of various Southern judges, in cases actually tried by them.

"Souther vs. the Commonwealth of Virginia," 7 Grattan, 673, 1851. In delivering the opinion of the Court, Judge Field said:

"It has been decided by the Court in Turner's case, 5 Rand., that the owner of a slave, for the malicious, cruel and excessive beating of his own slave, cannot be indicted. It is the policy of the law, in respect to the relation of master and slave, and for the sake of securing proper subordination and obedience on the part of the slave, to protect the master from prosecution in all such cases [of punishment not resulting in death], even if the whipping and punishment be malicious, cruel and excessive."

In another case of cruel and unreasonable punishment not resulting in death, "State vs. Mann," Decem. term, 1829, 2 Devereaux's North Carolina Rep. 263, the opinion of the Court, delivered by Judge Ruffin, afterward Chief Justice of the State of North Carolina, contained the followed statements:

"The end [of slavery] is the profit of the master, his security and the public safety; the subject, one doomed, in his own person and his prosperity, to live without knowledge and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being, to convince him what it is impossible but that the most stupid must feel and know can never be true—that he is thus to labour upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness? Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who surrenders it in willing obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce this effect. THE POWER OF THE MASTER MUST BE ABSOLUTE TO RENDER THE SUBMISSION OF THE SLAVE PERFECT. I most freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can. AND, as a PRINCIPLE OF MORAL RIGHT, EVERY PERSON IN HIS RETIREMENT MUST REPUDIATE IT. But, in the actual condition of things, it must be so. There is no remedy. This discipline is INHERENT IN THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SLAVE. Judgment entered for the defendant."

In "State of South Carolina vs. Mauer," 2 Hill's Rep., 453, Judge O'Neal says:

"The criminal offence of assault and battery cannot, at common law, be committed upon the person of a slave. For notwithstanding (for some purposes) a slave is regarded by law as a person, yet generally he is a mere chattel personal, and his right of personal protection belongs to his master, who can maintain an action of trespass for the battery of his slave. There can be, therefore, no offence against the State for a *mere beating of a slave unaccompanied with any circumstances of cruelty*, or an attempt to kill and murder. The peace of the State *is not thereby broken*; for a slave is not generally regarded as legally capable of being within the peace of the State. He is not a citizen, and is not in that character entitled to her protection."

We have abstained from describing the cruelties inflicted in the cases above cited, because we wish to appeal to reason without painful excitement of feeling. Those cases are fair specimens of their class, and they show that the judicial decisions of slave cases *do* correspond in rigour to the laws. If, then, we remember that the slave cannot bring any action whatever on his own account, and that he is likely to find no friend who will do this for him in opposition to his master, and that both the laws and the ordinary course of their administration discourage any appeal to them in behalf of a slave, it will be sufficiently obvious that only a very small proportion of the cases of cruelty inflicted upon a slave will come before the law at all for redress.

Before being competent to judge, therefore, of the actual condition of the slave, under the rigorous laws, and the rigorous administration above cited, we must consider another question, namely—

DO SLAVEHOLDERS ACTUALLY PRACTISE THE INJUSTICE WHICH THEIR LAWS ALLOW?

There is in every community a class of men better than the law; of men who, from natural nobleness of character, or high moral training, will scorn to use such opportunities of doing wrong with impunity as the imperfection of human laws may present to them. And especially must such a class exist where the law is so unjust as systematically to favour the strong at the expense of the weak—the rich, at the expense of the poor—the intelligent, at the expense of the ignorant; and where the very judge who pronounces sentence according to law feels constrained to declare from the bench his sense of the injustice of the law, while he confesses that no system of rules *less* unjust, and no administration of them *less* rigorous, would effectually establish the dominion of the master over the slave. In such a community, there will certainly be some men and women *better than the law*.

On the other hand, in such a community, as in every other, there will be a class of persons *no* better than the law; of persons who will be prevented by no scruple of honour, or justice, or humanity, or morality, or religion, from using, against those who are so unfortunate as to be within their power, every advantage which that law allows them. And this class will necessarily be larger than the former, since the uncultivated in manners and morals are more numerous than the cultivated in every community, especially where, as in the slave States, there are *few* free schools.

It is owing to the interposition of members of the class first mentioned that *any* cases, like those, the judicial decisions of which we have quoted as given in favour of the master, come before the courts. Well known as the rigour of the law is in that region, upon that subject, *some one* must have thought, in presenting each of those cases for trial, that the frightful excess of cruelty displayed in it gave *some chance* of a decision favourable to the abused slave. If in so many *such* cases those compassionate hopes were disappointed, how numerous must be the cases where an amount of cruelty somewhat less passes as an ordinary transaction, unknown even to the few persons who would attempt to call the perpetrator to account.

We will assume, however, that the great majority in a slaveholding community (as certainly in every other community) consists of persons intermediate between the two classes already described; persons who will ordinarily treat their slaves with a certain amount of indulgence, and who will use the extreme rigour permitted by the laws only under circumstances of peculiar temptation. We need only look at the many kinds, and the constantly recurring occasions, of special temptation to the *absolute master* of fifty men, boys, women and girls, to see that the actual cases of abuse of power must be very frequent.

To notice, for instance, only three of the many forms of special and powerful temptation, how numerous must be the cases of abuse of absolute and irresponsible power, occurring within the license of the law, under each of them.

The temptation of sudden anger.—Think, for a moment, how frequently *we* should commit injustice if, with our amount of moral training and self-control, the law of the land authorized us to inflict, on the spot, just what kind and just what amount of punishment we pleased, upon a stupid, or careless, or wasteful, or impudent, or lying, or cheating servant. But, from the very nature of slavery, from its necessary operation upon both blacks and whites, the servants under that system must be more faulty in all these respects, and the masters less accustomed to self-control, than under freedom. And anger, not proceeding to the destruction of life, can always be gratified by the master or mistress, upon the slave, with absolute impunity.

The temptation of lust.—How shall a few feeble words tell the fearful amount, and the weighty significance of the truth upon this great subject? Think what is the too well known extent of licentiousness at the North—in city and country, among old and young; think of the difficulties encountered, and the expense lavished, the risks run, the laws violated, and the disgrace hazarded in the pursuit of illicit indulgence there; then think what it *must be* in the South, where *all* these obstacles are removed; where the temptation is always at hand—the legal authority absolute—the actual power complete—the vice a profitable one, in a country where men can and do sell their own children in the market, and get the highest price for the lightest colour—and the custom so universal as to bring with it no disgrace; and, lastly, see the statistics of actual vice in the 800,000 mulattoes of the South, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of them a child of mere brutal lust—a disgrace to the father and a misfortune to the mother.

The temptation of pecuniary gain.—We must look at the force of this temptation, not only as it exists in the worst class of men, not only where it is unchecked by any wish or attempt to do right, but where circumstances of necessity, more or less urgent, coöperating with the laws and customs of the country, persuade a man or a woman to do something that they have long avoided and shrunk from, because they felt it to be unjust and cruel. Their poverty, but not their will, consents; and, without doubt, the slaveholder who carries off a man or a woman, a boy or a girl, where they will never more see father, mother, brother or sister, very often pays the poverty rather than the will of the seller. But the sales are constantly made, notwithstanding.

Many a man who, on being offered eighteen hundred dollars for the body and soul of a girl whose market value *as a servant* is only eight hundred, would indignantly say, Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing? will do it a year afterwards, when the urgent necessity for money comes. He will blush, he will feel disgraced in his own eyes, he will avoid looking in the face or hearing the entreaties of his victim, but he will do it. Is it not time to make some change, when the very *laws* of a country are temptations, instead of obstructions, to sin?

We have now considered what slavery is *by law*, what it is *in judicial administration* and what it is *by the practice of slaveholders generally*. The answer to one more question will complete the very brief statement we can here make of slavery *as it is*, and prepare us to inquire how it affects the family relation.

DOES THE CHURCH SET ITSELF AGAINST THAT SYSTEM OF INJUSTICE WHICH WE HAVE SEEN TO BE SUPPORTED BY THE LAWS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS OF THE SOUTH? DO THE SOUTHERN CLERGY PREACH AGAINST IT, THE SOUTHERN CHURCHES FORBID IT, THE SOUTHERN CHURCH-MEMBERS ABSTAIN FROM IT?

Alas! all these practise slaveholding, and defend it. More than 600,000 slaves are held in bondage, at the South, by men professing to be Christians. Not only is a man's reputation in the Church absolutely unaffected by the holding, and buying and selling, of slaves, but, if he chooses to take the trouble, he can find elaborate arguments in favour of slavery, written and printed by clergymen, in every slaveholding State; and in many of the States, decisions of ecclesiastical bodies, in favour, not only of slavery as a whole, but of some of its worst constituent parts. Here are a few of these cases.

The Shiloh Baptist Association, which met at Gourdvine, Va., Sept., 1846, after the discussion of the question, Is a servant, whose husband or wife has been sold by his or her master into a distant country, to be permitted to marry again? voted, "That, in view of the circumstances in which servants in this country are placed, it is better to permit servants thus circumstanced to take another husband or wife."

The Savannah River Association, after discussing the same question, voted the same answer, and gave this reason for it: "The slaves are not free agents, and a dissolution by death is not more entirely without their consent and beyond their control than by such separation." Here the right of the church-member to sell husbands and wives apart *without their consent* is taken for granted without discussion.

The Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1840, on motion of Rev. Dr. Few, of Georgia, "Resolved, That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any State where they are denied that privilege by law." By this rule, which is now a part of the discipline of the Church, more than 80,000 of its coloured members are denied the right to testify against a white member *in any case whatsoever*.

The Georgia Methodist Annual Conference declares that "slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil."

The Charleston Union Presbytery, of South Carolina, voted that "the holding of slaves, so far from being a *sin* in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy Word."

The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina published, as a religious tract, for gratuitous distribution, two sermons entitled "Rights and Duties of Slaveholders," in which occur the following sentences.

"No man or set of men in our day, unless they can produce a new revelation from heaven, are entitled to pronounce slavery wrong." * * "Slavery, as it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the order of Divine Providence." These sermons were written by Rev. George W. Freeman, preached in Raleigh, North Carolina, and specially requested for publication by L. S. Ives, bishop of that diocese.

The Charleston Baptist Association "does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all."

Rev. James Smylie, of Mississippi, says, "The 25th chapter of Leviticus clearly and unequivocally establishes the fact that slavery was sanctioned by God himself, and that buying, selling, holding and bequeathing slaves, as property, are regulations established by himself."

This same statement was also voted by the Mississippi Presbytery, and also by the Amity Presbytery, of La.

We may judge of the prevalence of slaveholding among Southern church-members, in all the principal sects, by the following statement of the same Rev. James Smylie, in answer to a remonstrance against slavery:

"If the buying, selling, and holding of a slave *for the sake of gain*, is, as you say, a heinous sin and scandal, then verily three-fourths of all Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in the eleven [slaveholding] States of the Union are of the devil."

The same clergyman declares, in the same pamphlet, that the laws of Mississippi and Louisiana, which prohibit, under heavy penalties, the teaching of slaves to read, "meet the approbation of the religious part of the reflecting community."

Rev. Dr. Fuller, Baptist, says, "I find my Bible condemning the abuses of slavery, but permitting the system itself."

Rev. Thomas S. Witherspoon, Presbyterian, says, "I draw my warrant from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to hold the slave in bondage."

Here, as in other departments of this great subject, for want of room, we can give only the briefest specimens of an immense mass of evidence. But enough has been given to show that the Southern Church supports slavery as thoroughly as the State.

Having now established, by documentary evidence, the following points about slavery, namely,

That it consists in the holding and using, buying and selling of men, women and children *as property*:

That this claim of property in human beings supersedes and nullifies all right of husband to wife, and of wife to husband, and of both to their children, and of all to the means of education, free locomotion, and property in the avails of their labour: and

That this enormous injustice is supported by the laws of the State, the customs of the people, the teaching of the clergy, and the laws and customs of the Church:

We have now to consider, HOW DOES THIS INSTITUTION AFFECT THE FAMILY RELATION?

Does not the question answer itself? Does not such a system necessarily annihilate, to the slave, that beautiful, blessed relation, which *we* understand by "the family," and immensely deteriorate it to the master?

Let us look at it more closely. The primary constituent relations of the Family are those of husband and wife, parent and child.

HUSBAND AND WIFE.

We will take it for granted that the principles properly regulating this relation are found in the following precepts of Scripture:

"It is not good that man should be alone."

"Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband."

"What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

It is obvious that the slave knows nothing of the relation which the Bible thus recognises, defines, and enjoins. The laws and the customs, of both Church and State, debar him alike from its beauty, its sacredness, and its advantage.

The slave laws decide that "A slave can make no contract, not even matrimony."

Hence the slave can have no wife. He is allowed to cohabit with a slave woman, because the master's interest is doubly favoured by it; in the production of children, which are money in his pocket, and in the formation of a new tie to keep the slave submissive, and prevent his running away. The slave woman has, and can have, no husband. The whole policy of the slave system is to induce her to bear children, the more the better. But the law is absolutely indifferent as to who is the father of a slave woman's child. It follows the condition of the mother, and is money in her master's pocket. But this mother can not have a husband, sharing with her the delightful right and privilege to dwell together "until death them do part." As soon as it becomes the master's pecuniary interest to part them, the laws and customs, of both State and Church, allow him to do so, and actually interfere no more in the question by what male partner the separated slave woman shall bear another child, than in the case of a cow or a mare owned by the same master.

Do you know, Christian reader, that no slave was ever prosecuted for bigamy, or for fornication, or for adultery? And do you know the reason, namely, that the law does not recognise them as capable of committing these crimes? The law no more attempts to regulate the increase, by generation, of slave property, than of horse and cattle property. As far as the law is concerned, the master regulates both precisely as he chooses. If he chooses himself to be the father of every slave child born on his estate, he thereby commits no offence against the law; and, amazing as it may seem, the Church, by an express rule, refuses to receive the testimony of a slave woman wronged in this way, against her master or any other white man. The master, and the master's sons, and the overseer, and the driver, have the female slaves of the estate always in their power, and subject to the influence either of bribes, or threats, or actual violence. And, more than this, if *any* white man, failing to obtain her consent, ravishes a female slave, the law forbids her to lift her hand against him in self-defence, and provides no means whatever, either for her defence or his punishment; and if she turns to the Church for protection, even if the ravisher as well as herself be a member of it, the Church refuses to take her testimony against him. She must have white witnesses. And how is she to have them in such a case?

That element of marriage by which the bodies of husband and wife are mutually pledged (and, as far as law can do it, secured) to each other, and to no one else, has no existence to the slave; and it is nullified by the act of the Church equally with that of the State. Both these unite in putting asunder those whom God hath joined together.

But again. Marriage is a union for mutual help as well as mutual love. It implies a community of interest not less than of affection. If a man is to forsake even his father and mother that he may cleave unto his wife, how much more are all *other* relations to be ranked as subordinate to this? It is the obvious duty as well as the right of a husband to provide for the defence, and security, and comfort, and happiness of his wife, before those of any other human being. But slavery not only disregards this duty and this right, but undertakes to reverse them. Instead of allowing the natural rights and duties of this relation to the slave man and woman who wish to live together in mutual love and help, the master claims the whole time and the whole labour of both as his right, as well as their bodies as his property. If, as very frequently happens, he allows them a small piece of ground, and a certain portion of time to cultivate it, he calls this an indulgence. It is entirely within his power to give or not to give it. Just as he may or may not, as he pleases, claim the body of the slave woman for the gratification of his lust, just so he may, if he pleases, expend the whole time and strength of both man and woman in promoting his pecuniary interest. The civil law expressly authorizes both these acts of enormous injustice, and the Church so nicely conforms her rules to the slaveholder's convenience that if he chooses to commit either, or both of these sins, he can do it with absolute impunity. Neither slave man nor slave woman is allowed to testify against him.

But, it is said, the Gospel is preached to the slaves, and certainly the Gospel has much to say of the mutual duties of husbands and wives. Do the masters prevent their slaves from fulfilling the very duties which the Scriptures enjoin? Alas! read the following testimony, consider the trustworthiness and the competence of him who gives it, and then say—*Is* the Gospel preached to the slaves?

Dr. Nelson, author of the well-known work on Infidelity, published by the American Tract Society, after a residence of more than forty years in North Carolina, and an intimate acquaintance with slavery, says:

"I say what I know when I speak in relation to this matter. I have been intimately acquainted with the religious opportunities of the slaves—in the constant habit of hearing the sermons which are preached to them. And I solemnly affirm that, during the forty years of my residence and observation in this line, I never heard a single one of these sermons but what was taken up with the obligations and duties of slaves to their masters. Indeed, I never heard a sermon to slaves but what made obedience to masters by the slaves the fundamental and supreme law of religion. Any candid and intelligent man can decide whether such preaching is not, as to religious purposes, *worse than none at all.*"

Is it strange then that the slaves are degraded? The Synod of South Carolina and Georgia only declared a natural and necessary result of the slave system, when they said that the slaves were "in the condition of the heathen—and in some respects, in a worse condition. Their moral and religious condition is such, that *they may justly be considered the heathen of this Christian country.*" And yet every member of this Synod continues to uphold the laws above described, in Church and State, by which this heathenism is perpetuated.

HOW DOES SLAVERY AFFECT THE MARRIAGE RELATION IN THE CASE OF THE SLAVEHOLDER?

1. Slavery discourages marriage among young men, by first keeping them familiar, from childhood, with impure ideas, sights, language and habits, and then providing, for the persons thus corrupted, a free indulgence of the sexual appetite without marriage.

A singularly calm and moderate writer, whose accuracy is entirely unquestioned, gives the following testimony in a book just published:*

"A gentleman in an inland Southern town said to me: 'I have now but one servant. If I should marry, I should be obliged to buy three more, and that alone would withdraw from my capital at least 3,000 dollars.'"—p. 600.

"A planter told me that the practice of [licentious connection with slave women] was not occasional or general, it was *universal*. There is not, he said, a likely looking black girl in this State that is not the paramour of a white man. There is not an old plantation in which the grandchildren of the owner are not whipped in the field by his overseer."—p. 602.

Dr. Parsons, of Windham, Maine, another competent and reliable witness, testifies:†

"The female slave cannot be otherwise than degraded. Subjected at all times to the passions of the whites, chastity and refinement are out of the question. They are stripped entirely naked to be punished, not only on the plantations, but by the city marshals in the cities, to whom the masters send them for this purpose. And often they are exposed in public for sale in the same condition."—p. 295.

Upon this last point we have the testimony of Rev. T. W. Higginson, a well-known clergyman of Worcester, Mass., who, in a letter to the New York *Tribune*, July 2d, 1856, tells what he saw and heard in Mr. Corbin Thompson's negro-yard in St. Louis. A gentleman of that city had just concluded a bargain for a coloured girl.

"'Girl is sound, I suppose?' carelessly inquired the purchaser. "'Wind and limb,' responded the trader. '*But strip her naked and examine every inch of her if you wish*,' he quickly added; '*I never have any disputes with my customers.*'"

The last evidence to be presented upon this point is the testimony of a Northern lady of high intelligence and excellence, well known to the writer of these pages, who found, in the course of her residence in various slave States, not only such amazing depravity in their social system, but such an amazing acquiescence in it on the part of women as well as men, that, after returning to the North, she wrote a tract, entitled "Influence of Slavery upon the White population." She says, page 7th,

"But why should we expect purity, when every restraint is removed which helps to subdue the clamours of the animal nature, while every possible opportunity is offered for its indulgence.

"There is no fear of public opinion, for there is no danger of detection, since the slave is bound to submit in silence.

"There is no loss of social position consequent upon the grossest licentiousness.

"The most honourable social and political distinctions are awarded without reference to the private character of the individual.

"The libertine maintains a high and honoured standing in the Church.

"The law decrees that every child born of a slave shall follow the condition of its mother, and thus not only extends no protection to virtue, but offers a premium to vice.

"Nor is one class of society more base than another in this respect. The highest social life is often the most vile in its secret history. A young man at the age of twenty-one takes possession of his portion of the paternal estate, and erects a house upon it, where he retires an establishes a household for himself. He secures what means of gratification his taste can select, and thus lives sometimes ten or fifteen years, if no heiress or beauty cross his path, of sufficient attraction to induce him to add her as an ornamental appendage to his establishment. Meanwhile his human 'property' steadily increases, both in numbers and value; for the lighter the mulatto the more desirable among the fastidious; and rare beauty is often the result of a *second* intermingling of the same aristocratic blood with the offspring of a former passion. From time to time, friends come to visit this bachelor hall, and in due season the master is repaid for his hospitality to them by a valuable addition to his stock of human chattels.

"If in due time a wife be wooed and won, what is she? Nothing but 'the fairest among his concubines.' She is not his *wife*; and if she deserve the name of *woman*, her fate is a living death."

This brings us to the topic next in order, namely:

2. Slavery destroys both the peace and the purity which properly belong to marriage, by complicating it with innumerable adulteries.

Read upon this point the unimpeachable testimony of a Southern lady,‡ Mrs. Margaret Douglas of Virginia.

"I now approach a subject vitally connected with the interests of the South and the welfare of humanity. In doing so, I tell my Southern sisters a truth which, however they may have learned it by sad experience, has probably never been thus presented to them before. *In this truth is to be found the grand secret of the opposition to the instruction of the coloured race.* In this truth also lies the grand secret of the discontent and rebellion among the slaves. Knowing this, it is easy to perceive why such strenuous efforts are made to keep the coloured population in darkness and ignorance. * * This subject demands the attention, not only of the religious population, but of law-makers and statesmen. It is the one great evil hanging over the Southern slave States, destroying domestic happiness and the peace of thousands. It is summed up in the single word, *amalgamation*. This, and this only, causes the vast extent of ignorance, degradation and crime, that lies like a black cloud over the whole South. And the practice is more general than even Southerners are willing to allow. It pervades the entire society. Its followers are to be found among all ranks, and occupations, and professions. The white mothers and daughters of the South have suffered under it for years—have seen their dearest affections trampled upon, their hopes of domestic happiness destroyed, and their future lives embittered even to agony, by those who should be all in all to them, as husbands, sons and brothers. I cannot use too strong language in relation to this subject, for I know that it will meet with a heartfelt response from every Southern woman. I would deal delicately with them if I could, but they know the fact, and their hearts bleed under its knowledge, however they may have attempted to conceal their discoveries. Southern wives know that their husbands come to them * * * from the arms of their tawny mistresses. Father and son seek the same sources of excitement, scarcely blushing when detected, and recklessly defying every command of God, and every tie of morality and human affection."

Can the white men of the South be *expected* to be pure, growing up in the midst of temptations such as we have described? Can the marriages of slaveholders *ever* be what they should be, while the laws, both of Church and State, so expressly secure indulgence to the lust of the eye and the lust of the flesh? Is it not yet time to direct our thoughts and efforts to the entire overthrow of slavery?

We have seen that the establishment, by law, of absolute, irresponsible power on one side, and entire subjection on the other, annihilates, to the slave, the relation of husband and wife, and poisons it to the slaveholding family by infidelity, suspicion, contention, and the intensest bitterness of feeling. We have now to inquire, how does slavery affect the relation of

PARENT AND CHILD?

We will take it for granted that the principles properly regulating this relation are found in the following precepts of Scripture:

"Train up a child in the way he should go."

"Children, obey your parents in the Lord."

Let us first look at this relation as it exists in the slave family.

The proper training up of a child requires, on the part of the parent, intelligence, a moral and religious character, a recognised authority, and a power to seclude the child from external vicious or otherwise injurious influences.

The very mention of these constituent parts of the parental relation shows how impossible it is for the slave father or mother to exercise them.

The means of knowledge are forbidden by law to both parent and child. In respect to morality and religion, we have seen the testimony of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia (and pages more such might be quoted, had we space), that the slaves "may justly be considered heathen," and the testimony of Rev. Dr. Nelson, that the sermons generally preached to the slaves are, "as to religious purposes, worse than none at all." The authority of a slave father or mother over their child is not recognised by the slaveholder in the slightest degree. They all, father, mother and child, are the *property* of the slaveholder. The assumption, for a moment, of a right on the part of the slave parent to give, or of the child to obey, a direction contrary to the will of him who claims to *own* them both, would be treated as rebellion and insufferable insolence combined. Shall *property* say unto the owner who holds, directs and controls it, Why dost thou direct me thus? And as to the power of withdrawing a child from unhealthy employment or vicious influences, or profligate companions, the son of the slaveholder may be the very worst associate for the daughter of the slave; but how is the slave to help either himself or his daughter? Both of them are utterly helpless, clay in the hands of the potter, even when they know that he is determined to mould them both into "vessels unto dishonour." To slaves, the parental relation, like the matrimonial one, is *annihilated*.

HOW DOES SLAVERY AFFECT THE PARENTAL RELATION IN THE CASE OF THE SLAVEHOLDER?

The slaveholder has, undoubtedly, a recognised authority to control his children. Let us suppose that he has also intelligence, such average developement of the moral and religious character as is customary in a slaveholding community, and a disposition to withdraw his children from vicious influences. The question is, *Can* he do this? Can he keep them pure and virtuous without sending them permanently away from home? Testimony must answer this question. We want the evidence of intelligent and reliable persons. But this exists in such abundance that our only difficulty is to find space in this tract for a tenth part of it.

Said Jefferson, as long ago as 1782, speaking of the natural and inevitable tendency of slavery,

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

The following scene was witnessed and described by Mr. Olmstead. Sea-board Slave States, p. 402:

"A party of fashionably-dressed people took the train to Charleston; two families, apparently returning from a visit to their plantations. They came to the station in handsome coaches. Some minutes before the rest, there entered the car, in which I was alone, and reclining on a bench in the corner, an old nurse, with a baby, and two young negro women, having care of half a dozen children, mostly girls, from three to fifteen years of age. As they closed the door, the negro girls seemed to resume a conversation, or quarrel. Their language was loud and obscene, such as I never heard before from any but the most depraved and beastly women of the streets. Upon observing me they dropped their voices, but not with any appearance of shame, and continued their altercation until their mistresses entered. The white children, in the meantime, had listened without any appearance of wonder or annoyance. The moment the ladies opened the door they became silent."

Further on, Mr. Olmstead says:

"A large planter told me the reason he sent his boys to the North to be educated was, that there was no possibility of their being brought up in decency at home. Another planter told me that he was intending to move to a free country on this account. He said that the practice (of illicit connection with slave girls) was not occasional or general, it was *universal*." p. 602.

The tract above referred to, "Influence of Slavery upon the White population," an authority of the very highest class, gives us a full statement of the truth upon this most important subject, as follows:

"The life of mental and physical inactivity that Southern women lead renders them incapable of a judicious training of their children, and, in general, they seem entirely ignorant of the responsibilities involved in the relation of a mother. They are too essentially indolent to undertake the arduous duty of 'managing' anything or anybody; and thus the precious years of infancy are committed to the most ignorant or malicious hands.

"As soon as the little one is old enough to seek playmates, his foster brother and the little negroes near his age are his constant companions. They become next the instructors of his youth, and their language, habits and manners form the strongest associations of his childhood.

"Meanwhile, 'human nature' begins to show itself with considerable vigour. The little master gets angry with his playmates; he fights and beats them, while they are *never* to strike back. His little foster brother, who is generally presented to him for a baby-servant, becomes his favoured victim. He beats him the most because he is his constant companion, and oftenest offends him; and the enslaved brother is taught that he must bear more because he especially belongs to his young master.

"Occasionally a mother corrects her son, and begs him not to strike, because it is not 'pretty.' But, as a general rule, as soon as the child learns the use of his little fist, he finds it most effectual for his purposes; and in the exercise of ungoverned passion and imperious self-will, the years of childhood prepare the way for the deeper sins of manhood.

"And now I approach a part of my subject from which I would gladly draw back, were I not riveted to the point by my desire to be faithful to my purpose of setting forth the effects of slavery upon the master. It is a painful and delicate office to do justice to this matter; but I speak to the pure in heart, who seek to know and defend eternal truths.

"By a strange misnomer, slavery has been called a 'domestic' institution; but before its presence, all that is properly implied in that word *domestic* vanishes like an exorcised spirit. The desolation wrought among the coloured victims of slavery is terrible, and mighty indeed is their demand for redress; but they have their revenge in the wreck of the domestic happiness of their oppressors.

"I have said that the white child is committed entirely to the care of the coloured nurse, and thus the process of contamination begins in infancy. Young children are familiarised to sights and associations which destroy the instinctive modesty of youth. They are also placed in such relations to the coloured children, through the ignorance or malice of the nurse, as to stimulate the passions into premature activity. Some nurses believe that personal intimacies between the young master and his young female companions cultivate a closer affection, and insure the latter from the chances of being sold. Others, of a fiercer temper, seek their revenge for outrages committed on themselves in order to exult over the wreck of early manhood always resulting from self-indulgence. By whichever process the result is attained, it is a well-known fact that purity among Southern men is almost an unknown virtue."

We inquire in the next place—

How does slavery affect the RELIGIOUS *character of a community, both in general and in regard to the specific relation of* MASTER AND SERVANT?

Dr. Parsons, author of the "Inside View of Slavery," who travelled and resided at the South for the express purpose of personally acquainting himself with the character and influence of that institution, gives full and important testimony on this point, a small portion of which we will quote:

"One of the strangest sights to a New England man, on visiting the Southern States, is the desecration of the Sabbath. In some of the cities, especially if a good number of the business men are from the North, the churches are tolerably well attended—there being but one service for the day. But, even here, the afternoon and evening are much devoted to amusements. And, in fact, throughout the entire South, with not very numerous exceptions, the Sabbath, instead of being a day of rest, or of worship, is a holiday—occupied mainly in pleasures and sport." P. 254.

"A colporteur of the American Tract Society, writing to the Maine *Christian Mirror*, under date of May 9th, 1854, says: 'In Mississippi, where I am labouring, drinking, gaming and horse-racing are common on the Sabbath—and the Sabbath is distinguished from other days by the firing of guns.'

"A large majority of the slaves labour on the Sabbath—not usually at the daily task—but they wash and iron, make and mend their garments, cut wood and work in their gardens.

"But the slaves do not labour for themselves alone. In the planting districts, especially during the busy season of the year, the slaves are not permitted to make the Sabbath even a holiday. Instances are by no means rare, even among masters professing to be Christians, in which the slaves are compelled to labour on the Sabbath as on other days.

"Rev. H. B. Abbott, pastor of the M. E. Church at Augusta, Me., was formerly a counsellor at law in Mississippi. In a letter to me, dated April 10th, 1854, he says: 'I am acquainted with a Baptist preacher in Mississippi who compelled his slaves to labour on the Sabbath, and justified himself under the plea that, if they were not at work they would be sporting and roving about the fields and woods, thereby desecrating the Sabbath more than by labouring under an overseer.'

"I was spending a Sabbath in the city of A. Early in the day I noticed the planters from the surrounding country coming in to attend the morning service. Many of them were members of the city churches. They remained in the city after the meetings were closed, and about noon, or a little later, their slaves began to arrive, with mule-teams, loaded with cotton and other kinds of produce. In the afternoon the stores were opened, and these Christian slaveholders exchanged their produce for groceries, and other commodities, with which they sent their slaves home, while they remained, drinking whiskey and cracking jokes, until the cool of the evening." P. 225-7.

We will close with two extreme but most thoroughly authenticated instances of the depraving influence of that power which the law gives to every slaveholder, to control and nullify the slave's conscience.

The first is vouched for by a lady extensively and most favourably known, daughter of the late Judge Grimke of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, and sister of the late Thomas S. Grimké, Esq.:

"A beloved friend in South Carolina, the wife of a slaveholder, with whom I often mingled my tears, when, helpless and hopeless, we deplored together the horrors of slavery, related to me, some time since, the following circumstance:

"On the plantation adjoining her husband's, there was a slave of pre-eminent piety. His master was not a professor of religion, but the superiour excellence of this disciple of Christ was not unmarked by him, and I believe he was so sensible of the good influence of his piety that he did not deprive him of the few religious privileges within his reach. A planter was one day dining with the owner of this slave, and in the course of conversation observed that all profession of religion among slaves was mere hypocrisy. The other asserted a contrary opinion, adding, 'I have a slave who, I believe, would rather die than deny his Saviour.' This was ridiculed, and the master

the Republic; and if he was not in earnest, the case is worse. The chief political interest to us is in seeing Mr. Buchanan stranded either way—left high and dry, with only the Southern party (helpless by itself) by his side, if he makes good the pledges of his Message; and, if he yields to the force of events, not only dragged behind the chariot of his late ally, but compelled to retract his entire policy and pledges, and prophecies. With this is implicated the political interest of watching what the North will do; whether a Northern Democratic party is formed, with Douglas as its candidate, to defy the South; or whether Mr. Pierce and his party, irreparably offended by the President, will be taken up again, as a loose element which may as well be appropriated, and a convenient warming-pan to be used in Mr. Douglas's service till he is ready for his accession to power; or whether something wholly unforeseen follows such a split as this. This is the mere political interest of the case to distant observers: and the interest is not strong; nor can be till American statesmen arise who can win interest by their personal qualities, instead of being the A, B, C of the diagrams which represent the problems of the time. The genuine interest of the case, the moral interest, resides in the evidence that the true republican principle is yet active, and that the best laid schemes, the most careful combinations, the most astute forecast, the most imposing assurance, all give way before the moral forces, which can never be practically defied with impunity. From faith in those forces, we have steadily believed and declared that the United States had entered upon a revolutionary period, though every politician, and almost every citizen in the Republic—and Mr. Buchanan above all—insisted that all was safe, all was calm. Now, they find themselves suddenly on the verge of fate—compelled to make a decision for or against slavery as a Federal institution. By no arts can they postpone the decision for any time which will be of any account in history: and whether A, B and C make or unmake parties, and uphold or desert this or that President, posterity is little likely to care. One thing which will be noted by future generations is the great Balaam speech in Congress which confounded the heathen host, and which (while inspiring no particular respect for Balaam) gave new life to the invaders of its oppression. All that we have to do with Mr. Douglas is, that we now have his own assurance that his old policy has no chance.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

[*Letter written by an American Traveller to his Brother in this City.*]

BARBADOES, Saturday, Dec. 12, 1857.

DEAR BROTHER: I arrived here on the 8th inst., after a boisterous passage of thirteen days. It was cold when we left New Haven, the thermometer being at 35 deg., but in a few days we ran into a warmer latitude, and had the weather at 65 deg. In the Gulf Stream I found the water of the ocean 74 deg. The temperature here has been, since I landed, 76 deg. at 8 . am., and 82 deg. at one o'clock.

I have already been introduced to quite a number of black and coloured gentlemen planters, and an invitation to spend days with them. Last evening, I drank tea with Mr. Wm. Hustand, No. 5 Swan street, as his card says. I there saw the *élite* of the black and coloured gentlemen of this city, and among them a lawyer, a minister of the Episcopal Church, and an editor of a paper. The house is elegantly furnished, and the drawing-room forty feet square. At 8 o'clock we sat down to tea in an adjoining room on the same floor. A blessing was asked by the venerable Joseph Thorne, who is mentioned in Thome and Kimball's *Journal*. Conversation was taken up all around the table, and though I do not admit to be true what Sir John Bowring told me, when in London, was his belief, that the African had superior *natural* powers to the Anglo-Saxon, I must say a more refined and intelligent company it has seldom been my fortune to see and enjoy. On rising from table, thanks were returned for the repast and pleasant interview. We then returned to the drawing-room, where, with music by the daughter of my host, and agreeable conversation, the remainder of the evening was passed.

I have been very much interested in Mr. London Bounce, a negro who owns two plantations, and with whom I am to spend next Tuesday. He is also mentioned in Thome and Kimball's *Journal*. He is one of nature's noblemen, and has visited the City of London, after which he was named. I met at Mr. Hustand's Mr. H. P. Nightingale, a pure African, who lately bought a cargo of rice, for which he paid £40,000. When the cholera was raging here, and it was doubtful whether he would recover from a severe attack, a white man sent him word that his note had fallen due and was unpaid. Nightingale sent his son to the President of the Bank here, and asked him to take up his paper as it matured, *which he did*. How many men are there in New York or Boston who would have succeeded in such a request?

I am delighted in collecting facts with regard to the comparative value of real estate now and before emancipation. As now advised, it seems to me that lands are worth twice as much as under the curse of slavery. A plantation of 448 acres has just been bought for £40,000, which, I am informed, could not have been sold before emancipation, with all the negroes on it, for that sum. The manumitted and their children now work cheerfully for 25 cents a day, and find themselves. That seems a low price for a day's work, but the hands live very cheaply on vegetables and fruit, and need no fire, and not much clothing. I could live very contentedly in this climate, as they do. Besides, 25 cents a day is the net price in free America for labour! Mr. Helper says that "in my own immediate neighbourhood (in North Carolina) not less than 30 young women, non-slaveholding whites, between the ages of 15 and 25, labour in the fields every summer, and that for 25 cents a day."

The whole Island is cultivated like a garden, and the several plantations are not divided off by fences, but are in common, like the meadows in my native town (Northampton, Mass.). None of the houses have chimneys, or any other means of warming, no fire being needed, except for cooking, and that is done out of doors. They have no carpets. What is strange to me, they have no annoyance from our house-fly. I have not seen half a dozen here. Mosquitoes abound, and they bite without giving you warning of their approach.

A white planter informed me that he did not know a planter who would return to slavery if he could; and I find that the opinion of every one. This is the most beautiful country I ever beheld. Such clouds I never saw, and the rising and setting sun is gorgeous beyond expression. The heat is not nearly so oppressive as it is at home at the same temperature. The trade winds are constantly blowing over this Island, and though the thermometer is now—at 12 1-2 o'clock—at 82 deg., I cannot keep my papers on the table without putting weights upon them. I hope you will live to see the West Indies. If you do not, you will die without knowing what a beautiful world we live in. No wonder Columbus wrote home to Queen Isabella that he found it so pleasant to live in "India" that he did not know as he should be contented to live in Spain. But I must bid you adieu for the present.—*N. Y. Times.*

A PASSAGE IN THE LIFE OF BURR.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Since the appearance of Mr. Parton's late work, I have thought that the following passage in the life of Col. Burr might possibly have interest for your readers:

In the winter of 1813, a gentleman of the Old Dominion obtained a writ of habeas corpus to regain possession of a female slave whom the New York Manumission Society had taken under its protection and restored to liberty. A hearing was had on the writ at Albany, when Col. Burr, who appeared for the claimant, expressed, or pretended to express, profound contempt for the Manumission Society, styling it a collection of Mr. Thee and Thous, applying to it sundry opprobrious epithets. Mr. Emmet, who appeared for the Society, said, in reply, that before proceeding to the merits of the case, he had a word or two to say in regard to the character of the New York Manumission Society. He viewed the Society as one of the most respectable, and said that if any Society could be rendered respectable by the character of its members, the Manumission Society was so beyond a doubt. In confirmation of his opinion, he then repeated the names of several of its members, as of Mr. Jay, &c.; then, turning round and fixing his keen eye full on Col. Burr, said with impressive solemnity, "and last, though not least, was—Alexander Hamilton." The papers dropped from the hands of Col. Burr, and, as if he had been riven by a bolt from heaven, he sank back in his chair, a death-like paleness overspread his features, and he appeared as if struggling in the pangs of dissolution. At length he arose, and with feeble steps tottered out into the open air, and, having remained there long enough to recover his self-possession, returned into Court. But oh, how changed! so meek, so humble, so subdued, that the contrast between his appearance on his return and the look of scorn with which he commenced his tirade against the Manumission Society may be imagined, but cannot be described.

The scene on his return into Court was truly affecting. All was silence, and the writer saw at least one veteran face, apparently unused to the melting mood, forgetting indignation in compassion, for once give way to tears. He thought at the time that a more striking example of the power of conscience could not readily be found, nor a stronger proof that, although her fires are not always steaming up through fissures in the lava, she is still in action, incandescent, and glowing beneath the surface. D.

Scotland, Conn.

SUFFERING IN NEW ENGLAND.—There has been an immense amount of suffering here, and in the neighbouring towns, this winter. I do not refer to the "poor poor," as the Italians have it, for we always have them with us, like every other community; and perhaps they are used to it, as lobsters are to being boiled. Those I speak of are people who generally contrive, if not to keep the wolf from the door, at least to hold him by the ears, and so prevent him from devouring them and their families; but this year the wolf has been too much for them, has sprung away, and is raging fiercely. Without metaphor, they are industrious people, who live frugally by working all the time that is not absolutely devoted to sleeping and eating, and they neither sleep too much nor eat richly. This season there is next to no work to be had, and consequently no money. They will not steal, they do not know how to beg, they have no reserved means, or have eaten them up in the four months that have elapsed since the panic began and work ceased. Starved from cold and hunger, sickness comes to aggravate their troubles, and the state of hundreds of families is such that death would be a relief to every member of them. I have known of some being turned out of their houses by the agreeable process of having their doors removed, having paid no rent for some time past. I hear of others who are under notification that they are to be served in the same way if they shall not be able to pay up at the close of this month, which they can no more do than they could pay the State debt. Yet it is but just to the landlord class to say that, considering how numerous must be the defaulting tenants, the number of persons of that kind who have been harshly treated is very small.—*Boston Cor. N. Y. Times.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1858

BLUNDER.—By an unfortunate mistake of the printer, Mr. Whipple's excellent tract on "*The Family Relation, as Affected by Slavery*," appears under the head of "Pro-Slavery," instead of "Selections." The blunder is a mortifying one indeed, but such things will happen sometimes in the best regulated printing-offices.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, on Thursday and Friday, January 28th and 29th.

The Society assembled on Thursday morning at Mercantile Hall, and was called to order at 10 1-2 o'clock by the President, FRANCIS JACKSON.

Voted, That a Committee be appointed by the Chair to nominate two Assistant Secretaries, and the usual Committees.

The chair appointed Ebenezer D. Draper, Samuel May, Jr., and Maria W. Chapman, as this Committee.

While the Committee were preparing their report, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER took the floor, and addressed the meeting. She briefly reviewed the anti-slavery field, and proceeded to make a very earnest and thrilling appeal to the men and women present, to renew their efforts, to engage with a zeal transcending all the past in labours to propagate our principles, and to bring about what is so greatly needed—a thorough anti-slavery revival. A sketch of her remarks follows:

Mrs. Foster said—We in the North, many years ago, sought to accomplish the freedom of the slave. But we soon found that we needed to strive for our own freedom—that *our* liberties were gone—that we had not preserved that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty. The recovery of our own liberties was to be effected. But we were a small, unpopular and scattered body, without means of moving the people, except by telling them truths which they were unwilling to hear.

The Church had great machinery for propagandism, but no care for liberty. I begin to fear that we, the Abolitionists, are getting into too quiescent a state. The places which were once actively and earnestly anti-slavery have become cold. Lynn, for example, has become indifferent in regard to slavery, though a great majority of the people are active or passive supporters of slavery. Why is this? Is slavery yet abolished? No.

There is yet a work for us to do—and without this, *nothing* will be effected. As Napoleon justly said, nothing is done while anything remains to be done. We cannot trust to Republicans; compromise is ruining them.

What *is* our business? What is the needful work of the present time? It is that every man and woman who clearly sees the work to be done should go out among the people, and get up revival meetings. A *revival* of anti-slavery feeling and action is the thing needed. At present, we have only revivals of pro-slavery religion, throngs in the churches and consecrations of the Sabbath. They do not in the least comprehend that slavery is the sin of sins. The churches and the clergy now give the people just anti-slavery enough to keep them away from our meetings, and to keep up the pretence that they are doing all that is necessary in regard to slavery.

A new generation has grown up since our sentiments were first proclaimed. We are to educate this rising generation. Children are capable of understanding our principles, and should be taught them. A nation is free in proportion as it is intelligent and virtuous; and only as it is intelligent and virtuous can it keep itself free or make others free. The adult pro-slavery generation must pass away before the mass of the people can receive anti-slavery truth. We seem to have forgotten the *immensity* of the labour we have to perform.

In this meeting, we want to lay out work. We want every Abolitionist from every little town to ask the General Agent to send a lecturer to his town, and engage to raise his salary and expenses. I am ready to do this for Worcester. We want a revival in Worcester. Those Republicans in Worcester who would formerly have said that the town could never become so degraded as to elect Isaac Davis, the very incarnation of hunkerism, for their Mayor, actually voted for him themselves. Compromise brought them to this; and such is always the tendency of compromise.

I want a series of resolutions to express our sense of the need of repeating our first anti-slavery work—of getting up meetings for the revival of anti-slavery feeling—protracted meetings, of a week or two weeks, or for a whole winter. If we do not accomplish this work of striking off the chains of the slave, our children will be in a worse condition than we were in, thirty years ago.

The Nominating Committee presented the following report, which was accepted, and the persons named duly appointed:

For Business Committee.—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, Mehitable Haskell, Stephen S. Foster, C. L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright.

For Committee to Nominate Officers.—Edmund Quincy, of Dedham; E. D. Draper, of Milford; Warren Low, of Essex; William Ashby, of Newburyport; Charles F. Hovey, of Boston; Lewis McLauthlin, of Pembroke; Perley King, of Danvers; Otis G. Cheever, of Wrentham; H. W. Blanchard, of Dorchester.

For Finance Committee.—Abby Kelley Foster, Lewis Ford, Reuben H. Ober, Susan B. Anthony, Henry W. Carter.

For Assistant Secretaries.—Samuel May, Jr., Charles K. Whipple.

The Treasurer's Report, owing to the absence of the Treasurer by illness, was read by S. May, Jr.

Voted, To accept the Treasurer's Report.

The General Agent of the Society, SAMUEL MAY, JR., then presented and read a brief Annual Statement of the Society's operations during the year past.

Voted, That Mr. May's Annual Statement be accepted and printed.

Voted, That the hours of 2 1-2 and 7 o'clock be assigned for the afternoon and evening sessions of the Annual Meeting.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, remarked upon the state of the anti-slavery cause in the city of his residence, to which reference had been made, as an illustration, by Mrs. Foster. He acknowledged the low state of anti-slavery feeling and action in Lynn, and attributed it to various causes. He spoke of the financial troubles of the year past as one of these causes; and also spoke of the fact that many, who had formerly been active in the anti-slavery cause, now allowed themselves to be absorbed in the so-called Spiritual movement, and walked no more with us. But he was by no means discouraged, and he declared himself inflexibly and unchangeably devoted to the anti-slavery cause.

Mr. GARRISON took the floor, and spoke of the storm without, and of the storm of opposition which our cause has ever had to encounter; yet, said he, our cause has ever been, and now is, "onward, right onward." He adverted to Mr. Buffum's remarks about the financial crisis, and agreed with him that slavery was the root and cause of it. He differed from Mr. Buffum in what he had said about *Spiritualism*. If the Spiritualists had ever thrown the influence of their movement against the anti-slavery cause, he was not aware of it. Should they do so, he would be among the first to rebuke and condemn them. Until they did, he saw no propriety in censuring their belief or their course.

A brief discussion on the question of Spiritualism, in its relations to anti-slavery, here took place, in which Messrs. Buffum and Garrison and Mrs. Foster took part.

Mr. HOLDEN, of Lynn, vindicated the people of that city as anti-slavery, though not Abolitionists. They think the measures of the Abolitionists impracticable. They believe in the Union, and do not desire its dissolution. But they claim to be anti-slavery, nevertheless.

AFTERNOON.—The President in the chair.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER addressed the meeting. Agreeing with the speakers of the morning in most that had been said in regard to the position and progress of the cause, he differed with all of them in regard to the thing to be done. Mrs. Foster and others had urged that our efforts should be redoubled, and an anti-slavery revival be kindled. "It cannot be done," said Mr. Foster. "The community cannot be aroused as they were in the early days of the cause. We have, beyond dispute, effected a great work in the land. But the cause proper is not now gaining ground. Receipts into the treasury remain about where they were five years ago. Adherents to the cause are no more numerous; indeed, the number of those who now refuse to vote under the U. S. Constitution is much smaller than it was. What is to be done? The old agencies are no longer sufficient. The people look upon our remedies as impracticable; the dissolution of the Union they deem impossible. I cannot satisfy *myself*, Mr. President, of the utility of the measures we are recommending, and therefore I cannot satisfy others. Our people believe in a government of force; but we are asking them to take an essentially non-resistant position, which is wholly inadequate to the exigencies of the case. They wish to vote. They wish to testify, once a year at least, to the whole nation, that there are so many men who go against slavery. And it has been the study of my life, the last two or three years, to discover some way in which the Abolitionists might use their right of franchise against the Slave Power. It is my conviction, as Mr. Phillips and as this Society said ten years ago, that the slave never can get his freedom except over the ruins of the American Union; and I seek a method of voting which shall not commit any man who uses it to the support of the Union. Now, I believe the rank and file of the people do not care a straw for the Union. We need to employ such wisdom as that of the Roman Catholic Church, which uses all its members, and finds work for all adapted to their several capacities. Now, all cannot do the same things which Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Foster can do, and which they do so well. But others, who cannot do their labours, can carry a ballot, and they long to carry one for freedom."

Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, addressed the meeting. With all Mr. F.'s ingenuity, unsurpassed by that of any other, he has never been able to construct a political platform upon which even a sympathizer with himself could stand, nor one even upon which he can stand himself. He charges that this Society is a non-resistant one. It is a *non-conformist* Society, Mr. President, and that you must of necessity be, so long as you are men of conscience. Mr. Foster is absolutely right, I think, in saying that this Society has never found work enough, and various enough, for its members and friends to do. I have always deemed this a defect. The *moral* position of this Society is the highest and noblest possible; but their practical position does not take hold of the mind of the community.

Mr. GARRISON, in a few remarks, replied with great force and most convincing logic to the charge of Messrs. Foster and Higginson that we are giving this people no thing to do. It is our business, he said, to speak the truth, even though we know they will not hear. "They will not hear thee," so God warned his prophet, "for they will not hear me. Nevertheless, thou shalt speak my words unto them." It is my duty to declare the truth itself, and I am not responsible for the manner in which this people receive it or reject it. It is my duty to warn them. It is *not* my duty to contrive ways for men in union with slavery, and determined to vote without regard to the moral character of their act, to carry out their low idea, and I shall do no such work. We show Massachusetts her sin and her shame, through her connection with the slaveholding States; we show her, and she sees her powerlessness to protect her own citizens, or to enforce her own laws in her own streets against a solitary Virginian slave-hunter; and we demand of her, in the name of the living God, that she break this base, disgraceful chain, and stand erect and self-respecting. Is this not work to do, and work enough? Adjourned.

EVENING.—EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, of Worcester, a Vice President, in the chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT was the first speaker. He said: I think I see the difficulty that lies at the basis of our affairs. We have a great deal of wasted, misdirected effort in this country. Slavery will be overthrown when we come to believe that man is superior to all his incidents and circumstances—that the Constitution is made for man, and not man for the Constitution. If the Government and the Constitution cannot exist without slavery, away with them! I have no more reverence for the Constitution than I have for a trading corporation. Man is the only object of my reverence.

I asked a prominent Democrat, who denied my statement that the Union was too dearly purchased by the enslavement of a single human being, whether he would see his daughters sold on the auction-block to save the Union? Two beautiful little girls sat with him, one on each side. He looked first at one and then at the other, and they smiled in his face in childish unconsciousness of the fearful import of the question. He seemed to realize for the first time what slavery is, and what it includes; and he violently answered—"I'd see the Union in hell first!"

If the people of this country would spend half the time in interpreting the Constitution that God has impressed on their bodies and souls that they do in studying and reverencing their political Constitution, we should have more rectitude and more freedom.

Reverence for man, for woman, for the child, is the basis upon which our principles must rest. The God who speaks within us is the one to whom we are accountable.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed, in a speech an hour long, in which he vindicated the policy of the Society as a practical and efficient method of action, and keenly criticised the measures and leading men of the Republican party. An extended report of his remarks will appear hereafter.

CHARLES L. REMOND (who had just returned from the State Anti-Slavery Convention in Vermont) gave an interesting account of its proceedings. He said the Convention was a successful one, although the full Gospel of Anti-Slavery was then heard there for the first time. There was a shrinking, at first, on the part of many from the radical truths spoken; but some of these very persons made obvious progress in the reception of truth, and the Governor of the State attended the sessions, and took part in the discussions.

The Disunion question was freely discussed, and, though this was strong meat for them, some thought that, had the question been pressed, a majority would have voted for it.

So far as the people of Bradford are concerned, said Mr. Remond, there is great encouragement for their continuance in anti-slavery well-doing.

PARKER PILLSBURY also spoke in regard to the Vermont Convention, at which he was present. It was largely attended, and the discussions exceedingly interesting. The spirit manifested by Gov. Fletcher in the discussions was excellent, though he did not endorse the strongest doctrine of our Society; but before he left, he said that his respect for the Union had been greatly weakened since he went into the Convention, and that, while he must stand by the Constitution, still, he could not say that he should regard the dissolution of the Union as any very great calamity. He (Mr. P.) replied that he would not find any great fault with the Constitution after the Union was dissolved! (Laughter.) The Disunion resolution was not pressed, but all the rest (and some of them were couched in strong terms) were passed unanimously; and he believed that, had the Disunion resolution been put to vote, it would have been carried two to one (applause).

Mr. Pillsbury said, since it was getting fashionable for Governors to attend anti-slavery meetings, he hoped an invitation would be sent to Governor Banks to attend this anniversary. He did not know that His Excellency would find it convenient to come; but he would very likely repent, by and by, that he didn't. His friend Remond and himself had come home feeling pretty proud, they had been in such excellent company; and he thought Mr. Phillips rather severe when he said that the anti-slavery man who had any reputation or popularity left had not done his duty; for if this were now to be the test, his friend Remond and himself were gone for it! (Laughter and applause.)

The speaker said he thought slavery had wrought its most fearful work upon the people of the North—that the guilt and criminality of the slaveholder had more than its counterpart in the non-slaveholding States, and that the disgrace and debasement of the slave is more than paralleled by the character of the mass of the people of the free States; and it seemed to him that, before we could reach the slave, we had a revolution to achieve in our own behalf, ten thousand times more momentous than that of '76, and he was very far from believing that it could be wrought out by any other than the same means.

Who feels the crime, and curse, and guilt of slavery? There is a lurking conviction against the *extension* of slavery; but even that is fast dying out, and the New York *Tribune* is to-day labouring to prepare the people of the North to accept Kansas as a slave State, if it shall be admitted as such. This is one of those instances where

> "Vice is a monster of such hideous mien
> As, to be hated, needs but to be seen,
> But seen too oft, familiar with her face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

There is not one-tenth part of the moral indignation burning in the hearts of the people of the North to-day, against the admission of Kansas as a slave State, that there was, in 1843, against the admission of Texas as a slave State. He took the occasion to remind his audience in Vermont that, at that time, they had distinguished men who, with John Quincy Adams, signed the remonstrance against the admission of Texas, and demanded that the Union be dissolved, rather than Texas be made a part of it. Then he enumerated the outrages that had followed in such quick and fearful succession—the Mexican war, the Fugitive Slave bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the outrages in Kansas, the almost butchery of a Massachusetts Senator, the Dred Scott decision—and then he appealed to Gov. Fletcher and his constituency there present to know, if Gov. Slade were wise and prudent, in 1843, in counselling the dissolution of the Union only for the annexation of Texas, what ought to be said of a Governor who, to day, in view of this long chapter of horrors, cautions the people against anything so rash and so perilous as the dissolution of the American Union? And he would make the same appeal to the audience before him to-night.

But the most fearful and fatal consideration is, that with each successive step on the part of the Slave Power, the conscience and courage and manhood and heroism of the North have declined in the same proportion, until, as he had said, there is no such indignation to-day against the admission of Kansas as a slave State as there was, fourteen years ago, against the admission of Texas; and if we lived till 1860, he did not believe that any better man than Senator Douglas would be the candidate of the best political party in the country, or that any higher issue would be made with the Slave Power than the re-opening of the African slave trade, if, indeed, Republicanism did not sink even lower than that before that time.

"For my part," said Mr. Pillsbury, "I would as soon have James Buchanan for President as any man in the nation; and I would as soon have Kansas admitted as a slave State under the Lecompton Constitution as a free State under the Topeka Constitution, for the latter is not a whit better than the former. The Lecompton Constitution, to be sure, provides for slavery, but the Topeka Constitution declares that the Dred Scott decision, in all its letter and *spirit*, shall be enforced as law in this land, by proscribing the entire coloured race. This consideration, I think, ought to be urged in this meeting, and everywhere, that the Dred Scott decision, vile, unnatural, inhuman, cruel, accursed as it is, has been confirmed in Connecticut, in New York, in Minnesota, in Wisconsin, in Iowa, in Kansas and in Oregon (all Republican States and Territories), since the Republican party has been formed. That is Republicanism in our country to-day; and I had rather have the publicans and harlots of the Democratic party than the Republican pharisees who make their boasts of such superiority over them" (applause).

The same logic held true with regard to the Church. Boston would be more hopeful if every minister was just such an one as Dr. Adams. He did as much harm, and no more, as the babbling drunkard, rolling in the gutter, does to the cause of temperance; he is a good illustration of the damning effects of touching the intoxicating poison. The mischief was done by the Dr. Cheevers and the Henry Ward Beechers, who laid one hand on the anti-slavery movement, and the other on the heads of the slaveholders of the South, at the sacramental table. A single Beecher or Cheever in New York did more harm than all the city papers, with *The Observer* at their head, or a Dr. Adams howling in every pulpit in the State. It is easy to convince the people of pro-slavery, as we have it in a Dewey, an Adams, a Caleb Cushing, and the like; but when we come to these Laodiceans who are neither cold nor hot, and scarcely lukewarm, he knew of no other way but to spew them out of the anti slavery mouth. "I know this sounds harsh and unreasonable," said Mr. Pillsbury, "but if you will go into the field with us three months, we will convince you that the logic is good, the argument sound and unanswerable."

In conclusion, Mr. Pillsbury expressed his gratification at seeing so large an audience present, and said he thought the cause of the anti-slavery movement was onward; and if the Abolitionists were only wise, and did not stop to make friends of Judges and Senators and clergymen, but went on, as Mr. Phillips said, utterly careless of all reputation and popularity, the time of their success was much nearer at hand than the most sanguine now dare to hope.

Adjourned to Friday, 10 a. m.

FRIDAY.

Met according to adjournment at Mercantile Hall. The President in the chair.

Voted, That the hour of 11 1-2 o'clock be assigned for the taking of donations and pledges in behalf of the cause.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read a portion of a private letter from Mr. H. R. Helper, of North Carolina, author of the "Impending Crisis of Slavery." Afterwards, he spoke of the glaring inconsistencies of American morals, which denounced and punished the murderer, the assassin, the pirate on the high seas, but admitted the slaveholder and his apologists and associates to their friendship and society, and helped in placing them in the highest stations. Now, says Mr. Wright, we see that Mr. Helper, simply for writing his book on Slavery, is banished from his home and his native State, and cannot return thither even to see his aged mother, without the risk of losing his life.

I have recently received a letter from an acquaintance and friend of my early days, now a resident in Texas, a member of the Presbyterian Church, and a slaveholder. He invites me to visit him. As to that, I long ago resolved I would never consent for a moment to have any service done for me by a slave, a human chattel; and therefore I cannot go to any slaveholding State. And the religion of this country is all on the side of the villain slaveholder. He takes the name of Christ, and it belongs to him, for the Christ of this country is a slaveholding Christ, no other than a cruel and hard-hearted demon, and I would call on all to unite for his overthrow. I speak not of the Christ of Calvary. He is a pure, a gentle, a loving Being, having no affinity with the Christ of America.

C. L. REMOND rose to ask if Mr. Helper, to whom the last speaker referred, was not himself in alliance with that class of men—the slaveholders—who had just been so severely spoken of by Mr. Wright, and classed with assassins and pirates. For myself, said Mr. R., I cannot accept the anti-slavery of Mr. Helper, nor of Mrs. Stowe, nor of Miss Griffith, *as authors*. The two latter send their heroes to live in Liberia. When they will write a tale which shows a coloured man, living in this country, a free man—when they will boldly demand this right for him in the name of a God who loves impartial liberty, then I can regard them as true and consistent Abolitionists. Mr. Remond vindicated the slave's right to shed blood and take life, to obtain his liberty.

Mr. WRIGHT replied that, from all he knew of Mr. Helper, he was in no alliance or sympathy with slaveholders; while the effect of his book among the slaveholders would indicate precisely the contrary. He agreed with Mr. Remond in the slave's right to take his master's life, if he could not otherwise get his freedom. [A VOICE.—Would you justify them in doing what you know to be wrong?] From their stand-point, said Mr. W., it is right. [Mr. BUFFUM.—But you judge the slaveholder by your own standard of right; why not judge the slave by the same standard?] No! said Mr. W., I try the slaveholder by his own standard. He would call me a villain, should I attempt to make him a slave. Then, he knows that he is a villain when he attempts to make a slave of another man, or woman. And when the bloody insurrection of the slaves comes, as I think it must come, every sympathy of my nature will be with them in the object they seek, though I can never go a step with them in the means they shall use.

The hour having come assigned for taking up donations and pledges in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Cause, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER addressed the meeting. She said it meant little to speak of sacrifices for this cause; that which we gain in education, in enlightenment, in the salvation of our own souls, infinitely more than repays all we could do or give for it. She set forth the work of the Society for the coming year, and entreated every one to come up and help it.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

Whereas no government has a right to exact allegiance where it refuses to give protection; and

Whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, it is expressly declared that "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States"; and

Whereas there are ten thousand coloured inhabitants in this Commonwealth, who, by the Constitution and laws thereof, are recognised as citizens on an equality with all others, entitled to the same rights and privileges, and eligible to every office in the gift of the people of Massachusetts, and of whom full and true allegiance to the State Constitution is required, and who are therefore to be protected in common with all other citizens against wrong and outrage; and

Whereas, by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case, the monstrous doctrine has been laid down, that the coloured citizens of Massachusetts (as well as every other State in the Union) are not citizens of the United States, and may not seek redress of injuries in any of its Courts, and to that extent have "no rights that white men are bound to respect"—a decision in open contempt and flagrant disregard of the 2d section of Art. IV. of the Constitution of the United States, and not only subversive of the rights and liberties of the particular class proscribed, but in the highest degree insulting to all the people, and utterly destructive of State rights; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of the Legislature now in session to denounce as unconstitutional, tyrannical and insupportable, the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case aforesaid, and to resist it to the same extent as though all the citizens of the Commonwealth had been judicially declared not to be citizens of the United States; and that anything short of this will be perfidy to our coloured fellow-citizens, slavish subjection to high-handed usurpation, and the extinction of the sovereignty of the State.

Resolved, That if this oppressive and atrocious decision be not speedily reversed, it alone will fully justify Massachusetts in seceding from the Federal Union, as no longer included therein by the original terms of the compact, and that she ought to secede at all hazards; otherwise, her claim of sovereignty becomes a mockery, and she has no right longer to demand allegiance of the class whom she is not willing to protect.

Resolved, That the Supreme Court of the United States, in all matters pertaining to slavery, is the ally of the Slave Power, and the deadly foe of Liberty; and, constituted as it is of those who are either slaveholders or the zealous accomplices of slaveholders, nothing but outrage and usurpation can be expected of it, to whatever extent the South may demand.

Whereas Edward Greeley Loring continues to hold his office of Judge of Probate, and at the same time to act as Slave Commissioner under the Fugitive Slave law, in bold defiance of a law of this State, declaring that he will not obey it; and

Whereas the people of this Commonwealth have twice demanded his removal, through the joint action of the Legislature, and twice have had their wishes denied by the vetoes of a Governor whom they have since declared to be no longer fit to be their Chief Magistrate; and,

Whereas, for the third time, the people are requesting of the Legislature (now in session) the adoption of an Address to the Governor and Council for the removal of the aforesaid lawless and contumacious Judge from his office under the State; therefore,

Resolved, That they have a right to expect, and do expect, of this Legislature, a prompt and hearty compliance with their wishes; and that Gov. Banks and his Council will, on the presentation of a proper address, promptly and heartily concur in the removal of Edward Greeley Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, and thus vindicate the honour and sovereignty of the Commonwealth.

Resolved, That the people will not sanction or tolerate any measure whereby this issue shall be evaded, but will hold every Senator and Representative to the strictest accountability in this case, together with the Governor and every member of his Council.

Resolved, That it is among the cheering signs of the times, and indicative of a growing revolutionary sentiment at the North, that the time has gone by for any man, claiming to be guided by the principles of justice and humanity, to come forward on the Anti-Slavery platform, and attempt to defend the Constitution of the United States as it has always been understood, interpreted and enforced, in regard to the slaveholding compromises; thus virtually admitting it to be incapable of justification, and therefore undeserving of respect or countenance.

Resolved, That, under the Constitution, the attempt to reconcile the spirit of liberty with that of slavery—free institutions with slave institutions—free labour with slave labour—free speech with fettered tongue—is worthy of the inmates of a mad-house—wild, guilty, impossible; and to persist in making it is an outrage on common sense, and high treason to the cause of freedom universally.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in a speech of some length, replied to various objections which had been made to his plan of an anti-slavery political party; and reasserted his positions, and insisted upon the necessity and practicability of the movement he had urged.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he was glad to hear Mr. Foster's speech. He was sure that, after the full and uninterrupted opportunity which he had now enjoyed, of saying all he wished to say to this Society, he (Mr. F.) could never again complain of being deprived of a hearing. Mr. Phillips then examined the arguments of Mr. Foster in behalf of a Disunion Political party. He maintained that it did not belong to us, in any respect, to form or inaugurate political parties, and that we are now doing, or may do, whatever we could do, honestly, were such a voting anti-slavery party in existence. Adjourned.

AFTERNOON.—The President in the chair.

WILLIAM JENKINS, of Andover, said the whole mass of the people needed to be moved, in the direction of Anti-Slavery principles. But the whole mass cannot be moved alike, nor at the same time.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., said he had just come from the House of Representatives, where he had spent the time since the adjournment of the Society. After a protracted debate, with every kind of opposition in the shape of motions to adjourn, to lay on the table, and to indefinitely postpone the subject, the Yeas and Nays being twice taken, the House of Representatives had granted the use of their hall to this Society for this evening. The announcement was received with general satisfaction.

Mr. GARRISON thought it still a matter of doubt whether we should use the privilege granted us, of occupying the Representatives' Hall this evening.

Messrs. Jenkins, Holden, G. Draper, May, Ford, and others, thought that the Representatives' Hall should be occupied by the Society for this evening; and, on motion of C. L. Remond, it was unanimously

Voted, That when we adjourn, it be to meet in the House of Representatives this evening, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

The Committee on nominating officers of the Society made the following Report:

President.—FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

Vice-Presidents.—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Edmund Quincy, Dedham; Adin Ballou, Milford; Effingham L. Capron, Worcester; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; Caroline Weston, Weymouth; John T. Hilton, Brighton; James Russell Lowell, Cambridge; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Richard Clap, Dorchester; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; William Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Lewis Ford, Abington; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; Timothy Davis, Framingham.

Corresponding Secretary.—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary.—Robert F. Walcut, Boston.

Treasurer.—Samuel Philbrick, Brookline.

Auditor.—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Counsellors.—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, Anne W. Weston, Edmund Quincy, Charles K. Whipple, William I. Bowditch, Charles F. Hovey, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges.

The Report was unanimously accepted, and the officers elected accordingly.

The resolutions before the Society were read a second time.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, in a brief speech, grouped in a striking manner the causes of peril, the facts of pro-slavery usurpation, now spreading and threatening all about us. He urged the necessity of a liberal and generous contribution to the friends of the Anti-Slavery Society, that they may again agitate and rock the Northern States, as the times demand, and that a special appeal for funds should immediately be made.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and MARIA W. CHAPMAN were chosen a Committee to prepare and issue an appeal to the people of Massachusetts, calling for pecuniary contributions to the treasury of this Society.

HENRY C. WRIGHT spoke of the necessity of keeping the great self-evident truths of humanity constantly before the people. He offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That slaveholding *necessarily* involves a crime and an outrage against man as unnatural and monstrous as robbery, murder, or piracy, and that slaveholders should be regarded as inhuman and monstrous as are robbers, murderers, or pirates, and

however, say they will resist to the uttermost any such intervention in the affairs of the State.

General Ward, of New York, is very active in support of Lecompton. It is doubtful whether more than four New York Democrats will firmly oppose it. No one except Haskin is yet openly against it.

I am informed, on good authority, that one of the most distinguished of the Southern Senators remarked, a few days since, to a Senator from a free State—in conversation, but not confidentially—that the South had no interest in Kansas, and cared nothing for it, but that they were convinced that *the true interests of both North and South required a separation, and they were determined to bring it about.*

I am perfectly satisfied, from various considerations, that a dissolution of the Union is the real object aimed at under cover of zeal for the Lecompton Constitution. Senator Mason's remark in debate, yesterday, refers to the project. There is a systematic plan of operations already agreed upon, to be carried into operation upon the rejection of Kansas.

It is believed that Maryland will go with the South—if not at first, as soon as a separation shall be effected—and hopes are entertained that, through Mr. Buchanan's influence, *Pennsylvania will be brought to join the South.* The President is perfectly aware of these movements, but professes that by aiding the Lecompton movement he can acquire an influence with the disunion leaders which will enable him to defeat their schemes.

Mr. Stanton, ex-Secretary and acting Governor of Kansas, says that the fraud by which Calhoun makes out the election of pro-slavery State officers and a pro-slavery Legislature under the Lecompton Constitution is a matter perfectly well understood by every intelligent person. The returns from Delaware Crossing, *as certified by the pro-slavery Judges of Election*, showed 43 votes—all pro-slavery. They were given to the notorious Jack Henderson, who took them to Leavenworth and altered them so as to make the pro-slavery vote 343. This return gives the Legislature to the Pro-Slavery party. Gen. Calhoun is perfectly aware of the fraudulent character of these returns, but pretends he cannot go behind them.

ANOTHER CASE OF KIDNAPPING.

It is by no means one of the least of the evils of slavery, that it exposes the free people of colour at the North to the constant danger of being kidnapped and sold into eternal bondage. Many instances of such kidnapping have been brought to light, but it is probable that hundreds, if not thousands, of others remain, and will ever remain, undiscovered. In the times when the slavery question scarcely attracted the public notice, the obstacles to such villany were few and feeble, especially on the slave-border, while the temptations naturally inciting thereto were constantly and powerfully operating. The anti-slavery agitation has awakened a vigilance, the fruits of which are seen in the occasional exposure of the kidnappers and the release of their victims. It is but a short time since an attempt, which narrowly failed of consummation, was made to kidnap two boys from Geneva, in this State; and now we are called upon to record another example of the same kind. The following letter from the Mayor of Richmond, Va., to the Mayor of New York explains itself:

RICHMOND, Va., Sunday, Jan. 24, 1858.

To the Honourable the Mayor of New York.

DEAR SIR: On yesterday, a man, calling himself Mason Thomas, was brought before me, as Mayor of this City, charged with kidnapping from your City a negro named George Anderson, and selling him as a slave. Thomas says that George is his slave, and that he escaped from St. Louis. George Anderson, on the contrary, affirms that he is free, and that Thomas induced him to leave New York, upon wages, to be employed in Pennsylvania. Though I have no legal proof here to sustain George's statement, it is so plausible that I have remanded Thomas till the 30th, to get information on the subject from New York. He can read and write, and says he went to school in New York, near the Five Points, to a Mr. Peterson, and says also that he knew a Dr. Graham. He is a weak, sickly negro, easily imposed upon, about 20 years old, and not more than five feet high, and has a very down-cast look. I will be much obliged to you if you will take immediate steps to ascertain whether there was such a negro in New York, and, if so, what was his condition. Thomas does not give a satisfactory account of how he came to own George, and there are other circumstances to induce me to believe that George is telling the truth. I will be glad to hear from you as soon as possible.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOSEPH MAYO.

The Mayor ordered his Private Secretary, Mr. Auld, to institute the proper inquiries, and upon examining the register of the Coloured Grammar School, No. 1, it was found that *George Anderson* entered the school on the 20th of July, 1840. The teacher of this school is *John Peterson*, which confirms the statement of the kidnapped man. This testimony was forwarded to the Mayor of Richmond, who, not being fully satisfied, requested that *white* testimony establishing Anderson's identity might, if possible, be procured. Mr. Auld thereupon renewed his inquiries, and discovered several persons in this City who recollect Anderson, and are prepared to make their affidavits that he is a free man; that he was born in New York, and, in short, that his story, communicated to Mayor Mayo, is correct in every particular. Among the persons who remember him is George T. Trimble (Quaker), former Trustee of Public Schools in the City. The affidavits of Mr. Trimble and others were forwarded to Richmond on Wednesday. Meantime, Thomas, the alleged kidnapper, is retained in custody in Richmond to await the result of the pending inquiries.

PERSONAL.

Dr. Jackson, the elder, of Boston, meeting his old friend Josiah Quincy (both past eighty years of age), on the sidewalk, accosted him with, "Well, Mr. Quincy, how much longer do you intend to live?" "Till I send for a doctor," was the quick reply. "And when did you send for one last?" inquired Dr. J. "Just eighty-six years ago!" answered Mr. Quincy, adding the precise date of his birth.

The *Friends' Review* (Philadelphia) publishes the following passage of a private letter from John G. Whittier.

"All that the sacred word MOTHER means in its broadest, fullest significance, our dear Mother was to us. A friend, helper, counsellor, companion—ever loving, gentle and unselfish. She was spared to us until in her 78th year, and passed away, after a sickness of about three weeks, in the full possession of her faculties, in exceeding peace, and with an unshaken trust in the boundless mercy of our Lord. It was a beautiful and holy death-bed. Perfect love had cast out *all* fear."

Wendell Phillips delivered his lecture on "The Lost Arts" at Warsaw, Wyoming Co., on the 21st ult. The *Mirror* of that place says:

"Mr. Phillips was detained here till 8 o'clock on Friday evening; and as quite an anxiety was felt to hear him speak on his favourite theme—Anti-Slavery—a deputation of our citizens waited on him, and, agreeably to their request, he consented to meet and address the citizens at the Court-house at 6 o'clock. At the hour the Court-room was crowded. Mr. Phillips spoke an hour and a half. His speech was earnest, eloquent, argumentative. We have heard much of his infidelity, but must say that the more we have in the nation of the infidelity *he* preaches, the better it will be for our religion, national honour and integrity."

That vehicle of lies and smut, the *New York Herald*, exhibits its true character in the following paragraph.

LUCY STONE AND HER TAXES.—We see that nearly all the papers are making a great fuss over the late attempt of Mrs. Lucy Stone to evade the payment of taxes upon some real estate which she owns in New Jersey. Mistress Lucy is probably quite satisfied by this time. She has always been afflicted with a morbid appetite for notoriety, and has not been very particular as to the way in which it was obtained, so long as she got it. This was the principal motive for her recent row with the tax-gatherer in New Jersey. She found that the negro business was pretty well done up, and resolved to make a strike for woman's rights. Now, we advise all the editors to leave Mrs. Stone, her rights, her negroes and her petticoats alone. She thrives under opposition, and grows fat upon denunciation. Let her alone.

Parker Pillsbury is certainly "not without honour" in the place where he resides. Not long since, he delivered before the Lyceum of Concord, N. H., a lecture upon "Foreign Travel and Travellers," which was so highly relished by his neighbours that they invited him to repeat it. The *Independent Democrat* says:

"We have no hesitation to pronounce the lecture the best, thus far, delivered during the present season. His description of the great Cathedral at Antwerp, and of the wonders and miracles of Alpine scenery, were presented with a graphic power and self-evident fidelity to the true of Art and Nature, which compelled the auditor to see and almost feel all that was seen and felt by the traveller himself. We have heard many lectures on European life, art and scenery, but do not remember one from which we carried away so many valuable facts and impressions of the old and grand, the beautiful and sublime objects that constitute modern Europe."

Susan B. Anthony has been in Massachusetts lately, fulfilling engagements to read a lecture, originally prepared by her for delivery before the New York Teachers' Association, upon "The Education of the Sexes Together." The lecture appears to have made an excellent impression in Beverly. The *Salem Register* says:

"Miss Anthony maintains that the sexes should associate more freely in the various departments of education, business, &c., than they now do—that the effect would be to purify the feelings—the main object being to accustom men and women to that state or condition of mind and feeling which renders the individual thoughtless or not especially cognizant of the presence of one of the opposite sex. She assails female colleges and similar institutions as at war with the true interests of society. She related several amusing incidents illustrative of her positions. Her theory is, that the sexes should be more accustomed to each other, and that, by this means, much of gross sentiment and conduct, consequent on their existing relations, would be eradicated, and a more innocent, confiding and truly respectful intercourse take their place. The story portraying the excitement which occurs in the female college, when some pupil's cousin of the masculine gender is announced, produced a great degree of merriment. The lecture was very interesting, and was listened to with marked attention."

It is announced in various papers that Joseph Barker, formerly of England, now of Nebraska, has joined the Democratic party. The Omaha (N. T.) correspondent of the Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, giving an account of a Democratic Convention lately held in that place, says:

"Among the speakers was Joseph Barker, the English infidel and Abolitionist, formerly a correspondent of the Boston *Liberator*, who, I believe, is now a resident of this place. Mr. Barker was in favour of a Democratic organization. His right to take part in the proceedings was questioned—but he replied that as he understood the creed of the Democratic party, it maintained the right of the people to govern themselves, and that a man might be for or against slavery and still be a Democrat. This was not entirely satisfactory, and he was asked whether he would have voted for Buchanan or Fremont at the last election. His answer was, 'I would have voted for the *best Democrat*,' but he declined stating which of the candidates he considered the best Democrat. So Barker was left 'in the ring,' but his orthodoxy seems to be very much doubted."

Let us hope that Mr. Barker's conduct in this case is susceptible of some explanation that shall make it consistent with his former professions as an Abolitionist.

POLITICS.

Complete returns of the recent election in Oregon present the following results: For the Constitution, 7,195; against the Constitution, 3,102; for slavery, 1,645; against slavery, 7,727; for admitting free negroes, 1,081; for excluding free negroes, 8,594. The State is Democratic.

The Southern politicians are determined that the next candidate of the Democratic party for President shall be a Southern man. The *Charleston Mercury* says:

"The North has had two Presidents in succession, and the South will not tolerate the nomination of the next one from that section of the Democracy."

The (Richmond) *South* complains of Mr. Buchanan for his want of firmness and decision in dealing with the defection of Douglas. It says that if the President "had taken his stand at once and made the support of the Lecompton Constitution a test of attachment to the Administration, he would most assuredly have prevented the extraordinary lapse of Gov. Wise and other adherents in the slaveholding States. Whatever of defection prevails in the South is observable only among the persons whom a word from the President might have kept in the right path." The "evil effect" of his policy is "still more strongly developed in the Northern States." "Everybody knows," says *The South*, "that *party is the paramount power in the North, and that subserviency to an Administration is the highest duty and the most willing service among politicians.* Mr. Buchanan would have found it the easiest thing in the world to keep his Northern retainers in subordination, if he had only indicated his own position with sufficient distinctness before they were led away by the defection of the Illinois Senator." This compliment of the Southern lords of the lash to the character of their Northern slaves must be grateful to the feelings of the latter! Is not Mr. Buchanan in a fair way of finding out that Slavery is a hard master?

The Republic (Washington) has the following interesting chapter of secret political history:

"Gov. Wise's defection from the Administration has a secret history, which, in the progress of the quarrels between the Democratic leaders, cannot be kept secret much longer.

"The President started out with the policy of securing to the people of Kansas a fair vote upon their Constitution. He sent Gov. Walker to Kansas to execute that policy. For a while he stood firm, and wrote a letter to Governor Walker (not yet published, but shown by Gov. W. to many persons), assuring him of the support of the Administration. '*Let Georgia and Alabama and Mississippi howl,*' said the President in this letter, '*I will stand by you.*' That the President used substantially this language, is a well-authenticated fact.

"In the end, the '*howling*' became so terrific, that poor Buchanan was frightened out of his wits, changed his policy and abandoned Gov. Walker.

"Before he changed his policy, he had arranged with Gov. Wise to make a diversion against the fire-eaters in Virginia. Gov. Wise, and *The Richmond Enquirer*, under Gov. Wise's influence, were to support the Administration programme in Kansas, and the Administration were to support Gov. Wise for the United States Senatorship against Mr. Hunter. Gov. Wise arrived here, to complete and perfect these arrangements, *on the very day that The Union announced the President's submission to the nullifiers.* Gov. Wise went home, and has been since nursing the wrath which breaks out in his letter to Tammany Hall. Not only was his scheme of defeating Mr. Hunter blown up, but he himself had been drawn into commitments upon the Kansas question which destroy his Democratic standing, disabled as he is from making any effective fight by the treachery of the President. Gov. Wise is a betrayed man, and, as a Democratic politician, ruined. If he does not compass some '*revenge*,' even if '*victory*' be unattainable, it will prove that age has wonderfully softened his temper."

SKANEATELES, Jan. 18, 1858.

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MESDAMES OU MESSIEURS: Verily ye are such mythical personages, invisible to the naked eye of the *profanum vulgus*, that, although I have been a constant reader of THE STANDARD for several years, I do not know whether ye are really "dwellers in the form," as we Spiritualists term the inhabitants of this mundane *sphere*, or whether ye are the spirits of Clarkson, Wilberforce, &c., acting through the mediumship and controlling the pens of those whom you can impress with a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of slavery; and, in fact, I do not deem it a matter of much consequence to us outsiders, so long as "the weapons of your warfare are spiritual," and, I trust, may prove to be "mighty, through God, to pull down the strongholds" of the atrocious system of American slavery.

I do not profess to be a military character, or to understand much about tactics, strategy, or the art of war; but, in the contemplation of the contest between the cohorts of Slavery and the champions of Liberty and Humanity, I have mentally compared it to the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, and I think the present a favourable juncture for Abolitionists to carry the war into Africa, instead of being satisfied with resisting the aggressions of the Hannibals of Slavery. The enemy's camp is, evidently, in great confusion and discord; and if some valiant Scipio Africanus can be found among the members of Congress to lead the van, a successful onset may be made upon their very citadel, by pouring in memorials and petitions, from all the free States, for such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will do away with the monstrous absurdity and injustice of the present ratio of representation of the slaveholding States in Congress.

The Supreme Court of the United States having decided that even free negroes are not citizens of the United States, and "have no rights that white men are bound to respect," it is certainly an outrage, not to be endured longer by white men who "know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain them," that such an odious property qualification as is given to the Southern slaveholders, by counting three slaves as equal to a white citizen of the non-slaveholding States, should form a basis of representation in the Halls of our National Legislature, convened to make laws for free white men.

By this trick the half a million slaveholding oligarchs, acting as a unit, and representing not merely their own aristocratic and privileged order, but the millions of "poor whites," who, in the slaveholding States, are the most ignorant and degraded class of white folks imaginable, and are despised by the very slaves themselves, can and do wield an enormous power and influence in political affairs—an influence to which they are not entitled either by talents or numbers—a power acquired and maintained by bullying and braggadocio, qualities which generally indicate that their exhibitors are cowards at heart. One such spirit as John Quincy Adams could "chase a thousand" of 'em, and two like Dr. Cheever and Wendell Phillips "can put ten thousand to flight." Send such men as Eli Thayer, practical men, of good sound sense and sound principles, to represent our millions of Northern freemen in Congress, and the prestige and influence, the threats and insolence of the Southrons can be put down at once and forever. But so long as we continue to send unprincipled, needy, greedy, seedy political hacks to Congress as a reward for doing the dirty work of some party leaders, we cannot hope to command the share of power and influence in the councils of the nation to which we are justly entitled by the number and general intelligence of the population of the Free States. But send on the petitions; good must result from the discussion.

Yours, SENEX.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CCXXII.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent objurgatory as to his treatment in New York—He doeth justice unto himself—He maintaineth that the former times were better than these—He exalteth Captain Rynders and indulgeth in the pleasures of Memory—He giveth his opinions on Art and as to pictures in Albany and new—He describeth the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—Its place of Meeting—Its return to the State House—He openeth old scores and telleth how it ever came to be granted—He commendeth the Whigs—He relateth how the door was shut against us, and how opened unto us again—Also the order and progress of the Meeting itself, &c., &c., &c.

BOSTON, Feb. 1, 1858.

SINCE I wrote to you last I have been in New York, as I told you the other day that I probably should be. I was rather surprised, after my intimation that I was coming and should be ready to receive any testimonial to my public services and private virtues, to find that nothing of the sort was forthcoming. Not even an invitation to partake of the hospitalities of the Tea Room, or a request to make use of the Governor's Room to receive my friends in. As to a Public Dinner, I never heard so much as the first whisper of such a thing; and as for a Service of Plate, I didn't see so much as the pitifullest tea-spoon. The *extempore* speech I was all ready to deliver from the balcony of the St. Nicholas was utterly spoiled and thrown away, and it was in vain that I lay awake expecting the Serenade, which I supposed was the very least compliment I could be put off with. Nor were there any steps taken towards getting up a Torchlight Procession, or even a Public Meeting in the Park. I cannot account for these negligences. I flatter myself that I am everyway as much entited to these distinctions as many individuals who have been made the occasion of unlimited turtle-soup and champagne at the public cost. Perhaps if Mayor Wood had remained on the civic throne, these things would have been managed differently.

I was the rather astonished at these sins of omission as I have a very distinct recollection of a public reception I had, in common with several distinguished friends, from Captain Isaiah Rynders, now Marshal of your District. Nothing could be more complete and perfect than the way in which the hospitalities of your city were urged upon us by that celebrated compatriot of yours. So overpowering, indeed, were his attentions that for three or four years afterwards we had to forego the advantages of visiting New York, lest we should be overwhelmed by his civilities. And several years before that, I remember, in company with the same eminent persons, I was escorted to the steamboat landing by an admiring crowd, who continued to express their regard for us after we were on board, and even, with a consideration for our domestic relations as gratifying as it was affecting, seized the stock of an itinerant merchant of oranges and threw them at us in flattering profusion, exclaiming "take those to your black wives, d—a you!" I thought that by this time they must be ready to pelt me with bouquets, like a *prima donna*. However, as John Quincy Adams said, on another occasion, "*I can wait!*" Next May, if spared, I shall be with you again, and the goodly company I have spoken of with me, and then will be a good time to make up for this extraordinary remissness. But, perhaps, the Good Time has come and gone for us.

In spite of these mortifications and disappointments, I was enabled to discharge satisfactorily the various public duties which were the object of my expedition. In the intervals, I had great satisfaction in seeing the Belmont Gallery of Modern French, Belgian and Dutch pictures. I spent the chief of my mornings there, and had great contentment in those lovely woodland or meadow scenes, on those stormy and moonlit shores, and in those attractive interiors into which it seemed as if one might walk and make oneself at home. I should like right well to have made one of that breakfast party in the old Dutch manor-house where Baron Munchausen is relating his adventures. I think we could mention much bigger liars than he that are not half as amusing. The sight of the Meeting of the Hunt of Rosa Bonheur was a consolation for missing her Horse Fair, which had just been closed. It had given way, however, to Murillo's Immaculate Conception, which was an astonishment to untravelled eyes, which have looked on few original old masters, except such as have been sent home, as the original portrait of Luther by Raphael was by Major Cass to his pastor at Detroit, as described on your fourth page last week! There are plenty of such everywhere. This, however, as taken from the shop of a Royal picture-dealer, may be supposed a veritable original, as may one of the same subject, by the same master, in the possession of a Salem gentleman, bought at the sale of Cardinal Fesch. This last is much more beautiful to look upon than that of Mr. Aspinwall; but how "the learned fingers and wise hands" of the "artist and his ape" may point out distinctions between them, I neither know nor care.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held last Thursday and Friday, and it was an excellent good one. It was held in the Debating Room of the Mercantile Library Association, on Lawrence street. The place was a little out of the way; but not more so than the Meionaon, on Tremont street, where the last one assembled, and the room, by all odds, a pleasanter one. The room was full throughout, and crowded in the evening. As the proceedings will appear, I suppose, in your columns simultaneously with this letter, there is no occasion for my recapitulating them. The most marked circumstance attending this Meeting was our return, for the last evening session, to the Hall of the House of Representatives, after an absence of near ten years. The way in which we ever came to get admission to it was in this wise: After the suggestion of Governor Everett, in 1836, I think it was, that there were legal authorities who held that the discussion of the question of slavery was a nuisance which might be properly put down by fine and imprisonment, and after the impotent impertinences of the Hon. George Lunt, as Chairman of the Committee raised in consequence of it, towards Dr. Channing and Dr. Follen, and others, whose boots it would have been too much honour to him to be allowed to brush—after these things, I say, at the next session of the General Court, the House of Representatives granted the use of their Hall to the Anti-Slavery Society, by way of rebuke to these servilities towards the South. For the Whigs of the rural districts, in those days, though they suffered themselves to be led by the nose by the Boston clique that owned the State at that time, would have their way in some things, and they were allowed to let off their superfluous anti-slavery steam, of which they really had some, in anti-slavery resolutions and such indirections as this. And it is a little odd that we had the Hall every year, if I am not much mistaken, as long as the Whigs were in power, and its first denial was under the Coalition Dynasty.

I don't remember the year, but it was some seven or eight years ago, the Hall was swept and garnished, and it seemed to resemble the house in Scripture which had been so dealt with in the further particular of becoming straightway the abode of spirits worse than those that had gone out from it. It was thought to be too clean for our uses, and a general rule was made reserving it exclusively for the use of members. Now, I rather think that the Massachusetts Society will compare in point of cleanliness of personal habits with any Legislature that has ever turned out our laws for us. Of course, we regarded the rule as a mere cover for discontinuing a courtesy which might be made a handle of against them in other quarters. As long as the general rule was adhered to, and all other infant applications were subjected to one common massacre with our own, we had nothing to say against its operation. This year, however, the House allowed some outsiders to use their Hall, and you know the nature of the parties sufficiently to believe that it was not long before a due petition was sent in, asking for our share of it. You will see in the newspapers, and copy doubtless, the steps which followed—the reference to a Committee, the Report of leave to withdraw, and the amendment of the same, on motion of Mr. Andrew, by substituting a grant of the use of the Hall. This, of course, gave an opportunity to National patriots to advertise their patriotism and to make proclamation that they have such an article of merchandize on hand. Brigadier Attorney-General Cushing led the hosts as gallantly as he ever charged a ditch in Mexico; and though he failed of victory, it was through no fault of his. The Hall was granted by a vote of about 80 to 60.

Of course, the Hall was filled as full as it could hold, and a great deal fuller. And when I say that Mr. Edmund Quincy presided, Mr. Garrison read the resolutions, and Messrs. Theodore Parker, Remond and Phillips spoke to them, you will readily admit that it would be hard to improve the arrangements. The members of the House had, with perfect correctness, reserved the privilege of using their own seats, if they chose, of which many of them availed themselves. When you come to read the speeches, and particularly Mr. Phillips's, I think you will agree with me that it was good for them to be there, and also join in my hope that what they heard may fructify to their edification and the bringing forth of good works among them. Of this, however, I can judge better after the harvest is over, at which time, and during the progress of the same, you will probably have the advantage of my advices and my comments and opinions.

D. Y.

THE PATENT OFFICE.—Among the fruits of Mr. Buchanan's election to the Presidency was the removal of Judge Mason, a Northern man, and the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Holt as Commissioner of Patents. The fairness of such an appointment is illustrated in the following table, which shows that while 2,501 patents were granted in 1856 to citizens of free States, only 367 were granted to citizens of the South.

THE PATENTS *granted to citizens of the United States, in* 1856, *were distributed among the several States, Territories, &c., as follows:*

New York	865	District of Columbia	33
Massachusetts	421	Alabama	27
Pennsylvania	314	Georgia	20
Ohio	235	Louisiana	20
Connecticut	161	North Carolina	14
Illinois	119	Tennessee	14
New Jersey	91	South Carolina	12
Indiana	60	Mississippi	11
Virginia	58	Iowa	11
Maryland	57	Delaware	10
Vermont	48	California	7
Missouri	44	Texas	5
New Hampshire	41	Arkansas	3
Kentucky	37	Minnesota	3
Michigan	35	Kansas	1
Rhode Island	36	United States Army	2
Wisconsin	31		
Maine	32	Total	2,868

Although the office is almost entirely supported by the citizens of the free States, yet the slave States have now a preponderating influence in its direction and are claiming to extend their power still further. Seven of the twelve Examiners are from the South, yet they complain that they are not duly represented and are clamouring for the removal of such of the remaining Examiners as are tainted with Free-Soilism, or are unwilling to do the dirty work of the slaveholders.

Among the recommendations of the new Commissioner is one for an alteration of the patent law so as to prevent the restrictions of the Dred Scott decision from attaching to slaves who may make application for patents. The law now requires that applicants shall be citizens of the United States. The Commissioner does not propose to extend the benefits of this amendment to *free* coloured people, who have no masters to rob them of the fruits of their genius and skill!

"My country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty!
Of thee I sing."

EQUAL SCHOOL RIGHTS IN RHODE ISLAND.—The coloured people of Rhode Island are making earnest efforts to procure the enactment of a law abolishing the system of separate schools for coloured children, and permitting them to enter the schools in their respective neighbourhoods on the same terms with those of a white complexion. They ask only the rights conferred upon them by the State Constitution, which knows no complexional distinctions; but the spirit of colourphobia has thus far proved too strong for them. The subject was recently considered in the School Committee of Providence, and we are sorry to say that while the Constitutional equality of the coloured people, in this as in other matters, was generally conceded, the majority, from considerations of expediency, were opposed to the abolition of separate coloured schools. Dr. Wayland, who was reported last year to be in favour of the measure, cast his influence this year on the wrong side; and Bishop Clark, who last year signed the memorial to the Legislature in behalf of the object, came out against it now as inexpedient. The only member of the Committee who took a manly and straightforward course in favour of the right was the Rev. Mr. Wolcott, of the Congregational Church. The measure must eventually triumph, because it is just; and we hope the question will be pressed upon the attention of the Legislature with constantly increasing importunity until that body shall adjust the school laws to the plain demands of the Constitution.

MR. COCHRANE'S SPEECH.—We have read with deep interest and satisfaction the speech of the Hon. Clark B Cochrane (Representative of the Eighteenth District, New York), delivered in the United States House of Representatives on the 25th ult. It is a compact and exceedingly forcible exposition of the gigantic frauds by means of which a slaveholding Constitution has been framed for the people of Kansas in defiance of their will, and which are now approaching their climax in the (probable) acceptance of that Constitution by Congress. It is amazing to us that a man whose moral perceptions are so clear as those of Mr. Cochrane evidently are is yet so blind as not to see that the American Union is a conspiracy against liberty which ought instantly to be broken up. We will do him the justice to say, however, that his speech, sound as far as it goes, is not marred by any of the Union-saving twaddle in which so many Republican orators are accustomed to indulge.

VERMONT CONVENTION.—We are disappointed in not receiving a report for our present number of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention held at Bradford, Vt., last week. We have seen the Rev. I. R. W. Sloane, of this city, who was present at the last session, and who informs us that the Convention was well attended and very interesting. William Goodell was present, representing the American *Abolition* Society, while the American Anti-Slavery Society was represented by Parker Pillsbury, C. L. Remond and Wm. Wells Brown. The *Constitutional* question was, of course, largely discussed. The Governor of the State, Ryland Fletcher, of Cavendish, took part in the discussions of the Convention. We shall probably receive a report in time for our next issue.

THE ARMY.—The Administration is clamouring for an increase of the army. The proposition of the Secretary of War is, to add five new regiments, the present number being nineteen. The War Committee of the Senate, of which Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, is chairman, has modified this proposition. Its plan is, instead of adding new regiments, to add 30 companies to the existing regiments and to increase the number of men in each company. The slaveholders rely upon federal bayonets to aid them in extending their infernal system, and they will no doubt get all they desire. In fifteen years the army has been increased from 8,000 to about 18,000 men, and now it is proposed to swell the number by a single act to 25,000! At this rate we shall soon have a standing army of 50,000 men, under the control of the Slave Power, and ready to aid in any conspiracy to "crush out" the spirit of freedom.

HAYTI AND THE UNITED STATES.—There have been many complaints in American journals lately that the rights of Americans visiting Hayti on business or pleasure are not duly respected by the Emperor and his agents. The people of the United States should be ashamed to make any complaints on this score so long as they refuse to recognise the independence of Hayti and to place her on an equal footing with other governments. England, France, and indeed all the European governments, treat Hayti precisely as they treat any other nation, while this country, under the rule of the meanest Oligarchy in the world, has always refused to extend to her the civilities due to an independent power.

A HARD HIT.—Stephen S. Foster was speaking lately in Nashua, N. H., upon the decision pronounced in the Dred Scott case by Judge Taney, when a man in the audience interrupted him with the remark, "He (Judge Taney) is a pretty good judge." The audience was thereupon informed that the man who had made that remark had been tried, a few days before, for stealing chickens, and was then out on bail for his appearance at a higher court! "I don't wonder," said Mr. Foster, "when Judges steal babies, that your common men steal chickens!"

WASHINGTON'S OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY.—It is stated in private circles that Mr. Bancroft, the historian, has discovered a hitherto unpublished letter of Washington, written in the latter portion of his life, in which he expresses, in strong and unequivocal language, his deep conviction of the evils and wrongs of slavery. If this statement is true, Mr. Bancroft should publish the letter without delay.

THE CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY acknowledges the receipt of some $780 as the results of Mr. Goldbeck's Concert, gratuitously given to aid the Society; of which $480 were from the sales of tickets, and the remainder from donations, connected with them.

A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN ABROAD.—A prominent citizen of Boston lately took his seat at a *table d'hote* in Lyons, France, but, before commencing his dinner, looked up at his opposite neighbour at the table, when his astonished eyes recognised in that person Mr. Samuel Lawrence, the missing Treasurer of the Middlesex and Bay State Mills. Both parties were rather embarrassed by the sudden and mutual recognition, but soon recovered sufficiently to "talk it over." We understand Mr. Lawrence's friends have sent out enjoining his immediate return. They consider his flight an unnecessary and foolish proceeding, and say that the record shows nothing criminal or dishonourable against him.—*Springfield Repub.*

Summary.

THE SMALL POX is raging at Havana, the contagion having been introduced by newly arrived victims of the slave trade.

EX-President Fillmore is to be married on the 11th of February to a Mrs. McIntosh, whose former husband made a fortune in the crockery business in Albany, and was President of the Albany and Schenectady Railroad during the last three years preceding the consolidation.

PARKER ON THE SOLID MEN OF BOSTON.—Mr. Theodore Parker delivered a lecture at New Bedford on Tuesday night, and among other things wise and witty he said: "The aristocratic families of Boston began from some bare-legged and bare-footed ancestors, and by-and-by will become bare-legged and bare-footed again."

HIGH PRICES FOR SLAVES.—On the 20th of January, 1858, Dickinson, Hill & Co., Auctioneers, in Richmond, sold four negro girls; one, aged 28 years, for $1,150; one, aged 24, for $1,000; one, aged 20, for $900 (slightly defective); and the 4th, aged 12 years, for $850. The foregoing slaves were the house servants of the late Alderman, Joseph C. Wingfield, and were of good character and qualifications.—*The South.*

FRANCONIA HEARD FROM.—Before the telegraph gave us daily reports of the weather, we used to hear from Franconia occasionally, and considered it the coldest place in the world—or at least this part of it—where the sun would almost freeze down. We don't know but Franconia will regain her old reputation. The mercury on the 22d—not a very cold day here—stood 15 degrees below zero.—*Newburyport Herald.*

Huntington, the New York "maker of paper," was a most inveterate cigar-smoker; and if he was insane, this was the cause of it, for he was thin, nervous and dyspeptic. On entering the prison, smoking was absolutely and at once prohibited, by an inflexible rule. In three months he gained fifteen pounds in flesh, and his general health was improved in proportion.

LIFE IN UTAH.—A Utah correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune* says that one Bishop (Johnson by name) has for wives four sisters, his own nieces. Another saint has his own half sister, and another a mother and daughter for wives. Of the truth of these statements there is no room whatever for doubt. The facts are so. In comparison with the cities of the Later-day Saints, Sodom and Gomorrah were "Chaste as icicles that hang on Dian's temple!"

COOLIE MUTINY.—*Boston*, Friday, Jan. 29, 1858.—A letter received from Hong Kong for Callao, dated Anjer, Nov. 22, states that the ship Kate Hooper of Baltimore, Capt. Jackson, from Macao, Oct. 15, for Havana, with coolies, was at Anjer Nov. 22, waiting for men from Batavia. The coolies mutinied, and got possession of the between decks and set the ship on fire three times, and before they could be subdued the officers had to shoot fifty of them. The master was confined to his bed by sickness at the time.

THE LEVIATHAN AND HENRY WARD BEECHER.—As the immense crowd passed out of the Athenæum in Brooklyn, on Monday evening, a relative of Senator Douglas, who was present as an attentive listener to the eloquent lecturer, said to a well-known lawyer of the City of Churches: "Look here, friend, I am in favour of sending that man (Beecher) over to England to help launch the Leviathan."

"What can *he* do?" said the lawyer.

"Why, he can *draw—to beat all!*"—*Tribune.*

ELECTIVE AFFINITY.—The New School Presbyterian Church in Glendale, Hamilton County, in this State, has, by unanimous vote, gone over to the Old School Presbyterian Church. Our readers will remember that the New School Presbyterian slaveholders resolved last spring to leave their Northern brethren. Is it because the Glendale Presbyterians miss their slavedriving brethren at the communion table that they have gone to the Old School Church, which rejoices in such practices as especially Christian?—*Bugle.*

PONTIUS PILATE NOT DEAD YET.—When Mrs. B., the actress, was making a summer excursion in the country, she was accompanied by her husband and a party of his and her friends. One of these was a Mr. ——, formerly a pilot on the Boston station, who had laughed and grown fat so long that he had become, like Wolsey, "a man of unbounded stomach." Some one asked, "Who is this large man in Mrs. B.'s suite?" "That," said his informant, "is Mr.——; he is a pilot." "Exactly," was the response, "I should think he was —paunchcous Pilate!"—*Evening Post.*

STATE INEBRIATE ASYLUM.—Hon. B. F. Butler has been chosen President of this institution. The amount already subscribed to the fund of the Asylum is $50,000. Owing to the financial difficulties which have embarrassed many places that would have made large and liberal offers of a site for the Asylum, the Committee on Location have thought best to defer locating the institution until spring.

THE WEST COAST OF AFRICA—CHASING A SLAVER—NEGROES THROWN OVERBOARD—FOUR HUNDRED DROWNED.—A letter from the Cape of Good Hope reports the capture by her Majesty's ship Sappho of a large slaver of about 1,000 tons burden, on the West Coast. The slaver ran ashore to avoid being taken, and, after throwing overboard about 800 negroes, her crew escaped to shore in their boats. About half of these negroes reached the shore, but the others were drowned. Four hundred more were also found on board the slaver. The vessel was subsequently burned to the water's edge.

COM. PAULDING BURNED IN EFFIGY.—A public meeting was held on the 13th inst. in Scottsville, Albemarle County, Va., at which resolutions were adopted denouncing the arrest of Walker, and demanding the dismissal of Com. Paulding from the service. A correspondent of the Charlottesville *Advocate* says:

"After the adoption of the resolutions, the meeting adjourned and repaired to Jefferson's Mount, a very commanding eminence which rears its lofty summit far above the tallest house which adorns the village; and, after successive yells from the large and excited crowd which had congregated to see and hear, the image was set on fire and consumed amid the loud and enthusiastic shouts of an indignant population."

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SUPREME COURT ALLIED.—Mr. Izard, of Georgia, was appointed the first Governor of Nebraska. Lately, Fayette McMullin, of Virginia, has been appointed Governor of Washington Territory; Abraham Rencher, of North Carolina, Governor of New Mexico; Alfred Cumming, of Missouri, Governor of Utah; John Hartlett, of Missouri, Secretary of Utah; and the Secretary of New Mexico, we believe, is also a slaveholder. The Administration and Supreme Court are allies. How faithfully the former labours, through the selection of its chief agents, to secure to the Slave Power in the Territories the full benefits of the Dred Scott decision! After all, the laws of nature and of immigration may baffle its sinister policy.—*National Era.*

The *Yankee Blade* tells the following anecdote of a college chum:

H——, a member of one of the classes, was distinguished not less for dry wit and sly waggery than for his address in evading the writing of themes, and palming off the brain-coined currency of others as his legitimate "tender." One Monday morning he read a theme of unusual merit; but Professor A—— "smelt a rat," and, as H. finished and sat down in the pride of conscious excellence, asked:

"Is that original, H——?"

"Yes, sir."

"Are you sure of it?" queried the Professor, doubtingly.

"Why, yes, sir," replied H——, with the imperturbable gravity, and that pasteboard countenance he always wore, "it had original over it in the paper I took it from!"

FRAMING INIQUITY BY A LAW.—A Mr. Smith of Lauderdale County, Alabama, has introduced a bill into the Legislature of that State making it unlawful to liberate slaves by last will and testament. Upon this one of the Alabama papers comments as follows: "We hope the bill will pass, for a man who emancipates his slaves is not a true friend of the South; it is a virtual acknowledgment on his part that slavery is wrong. If they can't get that bill through, we hope they will pass one compelling all persons who liberate slaves to send them among the Abolitionists, instead of to Liberia. We believe in fighting the devil with fire."

SENTIMENT OF THE SOUTH.—It is a very great mistake to suppose that there is anything like a general sympathy and favour for Walker's schemes or any other filibustering movement. A few persons only hold such things in admiration about these regions. Both the Savannah *Republican* and the New Orleans *Bullet

Miscellaneous Department.

MEALA AND CHRISTINE,
OR
THE POWER OF CASTE.

Translated for THE STANDARD from the French of XAVIER EYMA.

THE public roads in the Antilles, particularly those of Martinique, are little else, even to this day, than the rude paths which the inhabitants have struck out, for their convenience, through the dense forests and tangled shrubbery with which the country abounds. More properly, there are no public roads in Martinique. Now grooved upon the edges of the giant rocks which hang precipitously over the sea, and now hewn in the sides of the mountains, are narrow paths, whose circuitous route is determined by the contour of the impassible barriers, at whose base they thread their serpentine course; sometimes scarcely a *metre* in width, they present on one side the abyss of the sea—or one of those deep ravines which mortal eye has never fathomed—while on the other towers a gigantic cliff, overhung with verdure, or lifting its scorched and blackened baldness to the rays of a torrid sun.

One morning, in the year 1831, a young man, who had left his abode, near the borough *Le Precheur*, while the last shades of night were still upon the earth, was seated upon a high rock, awaiting the dawn of the day to lighten the route he was about to take to Saint Pierre, not daring to venture upon the narrow and dangerous road, known as the Gris Bondin, while there was yet so little light. And he had reason to fear.

Far out upon the crest of a rock that overlooks the sea at an elevation of two hundred feet, this pathway, whose earth was collected from the vicinity of the volcano Montague Pilie, is rough, intersected by chasms, and well calculated to terrify one as yet unaccustomed to this kind of travelling, for the youth of whom we speak, although born at Martinique, might be called a stranger; he had left the colony, when a child, to go to France to receive his education, whence also he had imbibed ideas entirely opposite to those which prevailed in the creole society of Martinique.

Sprung from one of the wealthiest and most ancient families of the white race in the colony, he had found himself, during the three weeks since his return to his native soil, in perpetual strife with the opinions and acts of his countrymen. His life, his pride and his honour were engaged in the struggle. He accepted at first with a bitter and disdainful courage the isolation of thought, of feeling, and social position that was inevitable; but the experience of it was oppressive, and he suffered intensely from loneliness.

This young man was Armand de Puisgourdain. At the moment when the dawn appeared, Armand, seated, as we have said, upon a rock, his feet buried in the light drift-sand, was listening, lost in profound revery, to the sad and monotonous murmurs of the waves, which ever and anon broke upon the shore in plaintive lamentations. The morning breeze, which had, like Armand, awaited the day, now began to sport with the white crest of the billows, and dampen with its humid breath every object around. Armand seemed unconscious of it, while his hands, his hair and garments were dripping with the spray.

Ten paces from him a young negro, standing by the side of a noble steed, whose bridle he held in his right hand, was sleeping, with his arms and face supported upon the animal's neck. The beast stood as immovable as if his feet were buried in the earth.

As the morning sun sent his first slanting rays, oppressive even at this early hour, across the liquid mirror of the ocean, Armand suddenly raised his head, passed his hand across his brow, as if to restore himself more fully to consciousness, gathered some grapes from a wild vine which grew upon the shore, then called, in a loud voice, to the negro,

"Let us be going, Narcisse; let us be on our way."

Narcisse, starting from his sleep, aided his young master to mount; then, directing his steps towards the shore, he stooped and dipped the ends of his fingers into the waves, careful that the surge should not touch his feet, and made the sign of the cross, after which he plunged into the water till it reached his thighs.

Never does a negro travel along the sea-side without bathing his limbs, to render them stronger to endure the journey (which he always makes on foot), and never does he step into the water without previously making the sign of the cross, as Narcisse had just done.

He then hastened to regain his master, who had slowly followed the shore, at the extremity of which he reached him.

At the entrance of the Gris Bondin, Armand left his horse to his own instincts—better judge than his rider of the difficulties of the road, and the means of avoiding them.

Armand lit a bout-de-negre (a kind of cigar, eight or ten inches long, and about the size of a quill), and fell into a train of thought evidently painful, for, at times, his entire frame would shake violently. Having reached the culminating point of the route, he stopped a moment to cast his eye over this immensity of sea which was spread out before him, calm and smooth as a beautiful lake, and to watch the undulations of the surge, tinged with azure and vermilion, as the waters, rippled by the morning breeze, reflected alternately the rays of the sun and the hue of a sky as blue as the poets see in their dreams.

Armand urged forward his horse to the edge of an abyss which separated him from the ocean.

A forest of trees, whose roots had sprung out of the base or sides of the rock, and whose summits reached the level of the road, treacherously concealed from sight the depth of the abyss. The horse stood firm under the lash, and his fore feet were stoutly planted against two projecting stones. Narcisse uttered a cry of horror:

"Master, what are you doing?"

Armand respected the horse's energetic refusal, but was not in the least startled by the young negro's cry, towards whom he did not even turn his head. A thought of despair had pierced his heart, but he quietly conquered it.

"I will go forward," said he; "my fate will be to die in this country. But this negro and horse are right; death should not come by my own hand. I will await it, for now duty commands me to pursue an impossibility. I shall perish in this impending storm which the prejudice of my countrymen has raised against me. May the gods defend me."

Armand turned his horse back to the road and continued his journey.

An hour after, he entered Saint Pierre, the entire length of whose principal street he had to traverse to reach his abode, situated in Madeline street, at the extremity of that part of the city called Le Monillage, fronting which Peres Blanes spreads out, a charming promenade, bordered by a range of date trees.

As Armand passed throught the city, he felt he was little in sympathy with the men of his class and colour. Some turned away their heads, and feigned not to see him; others replied coldly to his salutations; the boldest and most courageous gazed at him, as he passed, with provoking stare and attitude; others spoke in lower tones as he approached, and he often heard the epithet "mulattress" reproachfully linked with his name. Two or three friends, induced by the esteem with which they regarded his father, extended to him the ends of their fingers, but yet with an appearance of shame. "Cleanse your hands quickly," cried the crowd, "you have polluted them."

Young Puisgourdain, apparently calm, with a smile on his lips, but the palour of rage upon his brow, slowly traversed this crowd; without effecting to brave them, he showed plainly that he neither feared their coldness or provocations, and at the same time disdained their sarcasms. In revenge, all the coloured people* displayed around his person great eagerness of manner, but without familiarity. Their hats were respectfully raised in his presence, words of encouragement and acts of kindness were offered him like a popular incense.

But Armand, who had never had the thought of making himself the head of a party, who had never sought this popularity, and who based nothing upon it, received with a politeness full of grace these expressions of affection, but coloured them with no enthusiasm. In truth he hesitated between gratitude and a certain contempt he felt for that part of the population who thus deified him. This same population, with a few exceptions (and here may be seen a strange anomaly, which testifies to the power of prejudice, and the indiscretion of degraded passions in a country where thoughts and actions are subject to the same withering influence which scorches and blights, under a tropical sun, all material things)—this same population, I say, in honour of whom Puisgourdain had brought upon his own head the wrath of the entire white race, joined in the abusive and slanderous songs against a young girl of colour, innocent cause of this feud between Armand and his caste.

The imprecations the whites lavished upon Armand, in their hatred, the blacks heaped upon this young girl, in their jealousy. This is a characteristic feature of coloured society.

II.

Armand, during his stay in France, had often met, in the gay circles of Paris, two beautiful young girls, of nearly the same age, and, in the halls of beauty and fashion, had heard the low murmurs of admiration which greeted them at every step, where a word, a look or smile from either was eagerly sought.

They were in the period of their pupilage, and imprisoned in the same convent. They revelled amid the pleasures of the holiday festivals, as joyously as two young birds, just escaped from their cages, would bathe their free wings in the pure air of heaven. And school-girls' friendship had thrown around their youthful hearts a spell which seemed eternal and unchanging. Armand learned that the tallest and most beautiful of the two was M'lle Meala Fournier; the other, M'lle Christine Rabilhae. He had never heard their names in Martinique, but attributed his ignorance of their families and rank to his long exile from his native land. He had left Martinique when but seven years old, and was then twenty-five. Armand afterwards travelled three years before returning to Martinique. Meanwhile he saw nothing more of these two young girls; but Christine, the less beautiful of the two, had left her image impressed upon his heart, for her joyous, mirthful spirit and *tout ensemble* had an irresistible attraction. Meala, calmer, more thoughtful and serious, had something fatal in the expression of her countenance. With as many graces as her companion, she had fewer charms; more beauty, but less spontaneity of manner. Christine fascinated at first sight. Meala seemed made for a love in which one perils both his life and repose.

Three years later, Armand returned to Martinique. A week after his arrival, he attended a ball at Saint Pierre, in company with the military commander of the colony.

Usually such entertainments are given in honour of the young creoles* just returned from France, whose bearing and address still retained all the polished elegance of manners, the finish of mind, and easy gallantry, that one breathes in the gay halls of the metropolis and even with the atmosphere of the streets. Armand cast his eye hurriedly over the merry group of fair young girls gathered here, whose beauty and grace gave a new charm to the splendour and magnificence which filled the festal halls. At last his eye rested upon the fresh and smiling countenance of M'lle Christine. He hastened eagerly to her side. She greeted him with a cordial and kindly welcome, and he in his turn solicited her hand for the next quadrille.

Armand inquired of Christine if M'lle Meala Fournier was not present.

Christine blushed deeply, and, in a voice trembling with emotion, briefly answered his question in the negative. Armand refrained from asking more. Her sudden blush, and emotion, the scarcely perceptible flush of anger, had touched upon a mystery. But not having the presumption to attribute this strange behaviour on the part of the young to a feeling of jealousy, he resolved to seek an explanation at another time.

Armand soon left the hall, but not until accepting an invitation from M. Rabilhae to a dinner-party, a few days after. It was evidently to Christine that he owed this honour, as there never had existed between his father and Rabilhae any friendly relations or intercourse, which is explained by the personal and peculiar position they occupied.

The details of the social standing of these two men may not be without interest in this story.

M. de Puisgourdain, an old attorney-general, belonged to a long line of noblemen from Perigord, established at Martinique soon after the foundation of the colony. In his two-fold title of nobleman and creole, he was excessively proud of his claim to rank, and resolutely made a lasting distinction between himself and all who had not been, for two generations at least, either noblemen or creoles.

Now, M. Rabilhae was in neither of the categorics recognised by M. de Puisgourdain as admissible into the select circles of Martinique. He had come to Martinique, twenty years before, as supercargo on board a small brig of Marseilles. Subsequently he left the sea and installed himself seller of eatables, preserves, and salted provisions. Industrious, economical, skilful in business, Rabilhae, like most of the provincials established in the colonies, saw his trade by degrees highly prosperous. From tradesman he became a merchant, which in Martinique is to ascend one step in the scale of rank. But Rabilhae's humble origin was always a social impediment to him, and, notwithstanding a considerable fortune rapidly acquired, he had not yet succeeded in securing a position in the colonial society, so jealous of precedent. He belonged to that class known as the low whites, a link of the social chain between the black and native whites. Nothing had favoured Rabilhae. Like their marshals of whom the Emperor says, "What a misfortune they are married, being only corporals." Soon after his arrival, Rabilhae had committed the error of marrying a woman of the same rank as himself, daughter of a small provincial merchant. If he had delayed his union, as many others have done in similar circumstances, perhaps, with his fortune, he might have an alliance with a dilapidated creole family, and then, after contesting awhile with prejudice and repugnance, made an entrance into the circles from which he was now excluded.

But Rabilhae was resigned—had adjourned his hopes, to find their consummation in his daughter, who, born a creole, with a considerable fortune in prospect, a complete education acquired in France, might be able some time to repair the disadvantage of his position.

Rabilhae was not mistaken, and the calamities which befell most of the colony strongly aided his project. Indeed the arrival of Christine had, as if by magic, changed into fawning flattery the reprobation which the colonial society had formerly heaped upon the *ci devant* merchant. Christine was well calculated to work this miracle. She had given her father a standing in society, henceforth enviable as that of M. de Puisgourdain himself. Finally he had found the completion of his hopes in the anticipation of a union between his daughter and Armand, whose family were still wealthy, and, above all, occupied an elevated rank in the country. It was to this anticipation M. de Puisgourdain owed his invitation to dine with Rabilhae.

Armand eagerly accepted, from his interest in Christine, this invitation; and his father, the ex-attorney general, was not unwilling, in view of the same motive, enhanced by a little self-interest. This invitation, given at the ball, before two hundred persons, had been instantly interpreted, and the news of a near and inevitable marriage between Christine and Armand was spread throughout the town with the rapidity of lightning.

Two hours after, the whole town knew it, the whole town gossipped over it, even to the lowest negro.

The day after the fête given by the military commander, Armand, mounted upon a beautiful American horse, traversed one of the streets in the part of the city called Le Fort, returning by the sea shore, a promenade he loved dearly.

The evolutions of his horse, the sound of his steps upon the sonorous pavements of the streets, as well as the novelty of the scene, brought to the windows many curious people. Reaching Rue de Consolation, through which he had not yet passed, a street thinly inhabited and extending out into the open country, and accidentally looking up, he recognised, with the intuition of a first love, the charming face of a young girl, who hastily withdrew to avoid meeting him. Armand felt the blood chill in his veins. He fastened his horse at the gate before the house and entered. An old negress, slowly rising from the corner of an adjoining room, where she had crouched rather than seated herself, advanced towards him.

"Say to M. Fournier," said he, "that M. Armand de Puisgourdain desires to speak with him."

The old negress opened wider her large eyes, and a smile of stupid surprise played upon her countenance.

"Is not M. Fournier at home?" continued Armand. The negress shook her head.

"Announce me then to Mme. Fournier."

"There is neither Monsieur nor Madame Fournier, master," said the negress.

"Ah, well, ask M'lle Meala to do me the honour to receive me," replied Armand, in whose mind was beginning to dawn a conviction of the true state of the case.

"I am here," murmured a voice trembling with emotion. Armand saw standing before him, pale and quivering, her eyes moistened with weeping, the beautiful young girl of the fêtes of Paris.

At a signal from Meala, the negress left the room. Armand, confused at this strange scene, sank upon a couch near him.

[To be concluded next week.]

*Natives of the colony, but of white blood.

*In the West Indies the term "coloured" is applied only to those of mixed blood, as distinguished from the "blacks."

HANNAH BINDING SHOES.

Poor lone Hannah,
Sitting at the window, binding shoes.
Faded, wrinkled,
Sitting, stitching, in a mournful muse.
Bright-eyed beauty once was she,
When the bloom was on the tree:
Spring and winter
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Not a neighbour
Passing nod or answer will refuse
To her whisper
Is there from the fishers any news?"
Oh, her heart's adrift, with one
On an endless voyage gone!
Night and morning
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Fair young Hannah,
Ben, the sun-burnt fisher, gayly woos.
Tall and clever,
For a willing heart and hand he sues.
May-day skies are all aglow,
And the waves are laughing so!
For her wedding
Hannah leaves her window and her shoes.

May is passing;
'Mong the apple-boughs a pigeon coos.
Hannah shudders;
For the wild southwester mischief brews.
Round the rocks of Marblehead,
Outward bound, a schooner sped.
Silent, lonesome,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

'Tis November.
Now no tear her wasted cheek bedews.
From Newfoundland
Not a sail returning will she lose,
Whispering, hoarsely, "Fisherman,
Have you, have you heard of Ben?"
Old with watching,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

Twenty winters
Bleach and tear the rugged shore she views.
Twenty seasons;
Never one has brought her any news.
Still her dim eyes silently
Chase the white sails o'er the sea.
Hopeless, faithful,
Hannah's at the window, binding shoes.

—"*Lucy Larcom*," *in The Home Journal.*

GOETHE AND THE GIRLS.

IT may well be doubted whether any man ever lived who loved more women, and, as a general thing, loved them more unworthily, than Johann Wolfgang Goëthe. He lived the well-rounded measure of four score years, most of them in direct association with a German court; and from the age of fifteen until the return of a second childhood, if that period ever came to him, it may be questioned whether he was ever without a flirtation, a *liaison*, or something which he actually supposed was a love passage. His biographers are very tender of all all this, and reiterate the phrase "the great and good Goëthe," as if its repetition a certain number of times, at respectable distances in their volumes, would really have some influence upon the facts of the matter. Goëthe was an intense realist, and sought, as a man, every kind of connection with woman for the sake of material which it furnished to him as an artist. This view of him makes him detestible, but himself and history are responsible for it. As we look over the extended list of his loves, and see how he abused the earliest and best, we bow to the justice that marries him at last to his peasant mistress, with her dumpy corpulency, and her drunken habits.

In Lewes's Life of Goëthe, we find a letter from Mr. Thackeray, who, when a young man, resided at Weimar as a student, and knew Goëthe. Thackeray speaks of Weimar as "the dear little Saxon city where the *good* Schiller and the *great* Goëthe lived and lie buried." The choice of adjectives in the characterization of these two men is very suggestive; and it is very just. A man who could maintain through a long life such relations to women as Goëthe did could not be good, and his loves, though giving life to his immortal productions, must forever blacken his character as a man. We do not allude, of course, to his boy-loves, but to those of his manhood and riper years.

When Goëthe was young he was a rowdy—fierce, wilful, handsome, lawless, noisy, and in every sense "one of the boys." His companions were often of the worst, and his first love was the sister of one of these. Her name was Gretchen. He was not fifteen; she was several years his senior. It would seem that she petted him without a thought of anything further. He was a forward boy, and a smart one, and doubtless was allowed to kiss her hand and perhaps her lips. But when the boy heard her declare, as she was made to do: "I will not deny that I have often seen him, and seen him with pleasure, but I treated him as a child," the cup of his woe was full. In fact, life became for a short time without any object to him. He could neither eat nor sleep. But he got bravely over that.

In Leipsic, the student became the member of the Schonkopf family, and the charming daughter of the house, Anna Katharina, brought him the wine. She was nineteen and beautiful. Her portrait still exists, and sufficiently explains her attractiveness to the impetuous young man. They saw one another every day. They pursued music and private theatricals together, in the latter of which they always, of course, played lovers. His friend Horn writes of him at this time that all his effort is "to please himself and his lady love." She loved him; and when he was assured of this, he took to the task of tormenting her. He was jealous, unreasonable and all that, till she rebelled. Then he was in despair and took to drink, as other fools have done before him, and that was pretty much all that this love amounted to.

Up to this time, Goëthe had done no more perhaps than most impressible boys do. There seems to have been no guilt in the matter. The introduction of Goëthe to Frederika, his third love, is one of the most poetical and charming little episodes in his whole life. He was living at Strasburg, and a fellow boarder, of the name of Weyland, tells him of a clergyman living fifteen miles off, near Drusenheim, with two very amiable daughters. Weyland proposes to go and see them, and to introduce Goëthe in the character of a shabby theological student. The disguise was procured, and the pair set off in high spirits. All are out but the pastor when they arrive. Presently the wife and oldest daughter appear, having been in the fields. At length, Frederika comes in, dressed in the national costume, with a tight bodice and a skirt that did not conceal the prettiest of ankles. Her straw hat was hanging on her arm, her blue eyes laughed between the sweetest showers of curls, and Goëthe, poor soul, smitten at first sight, was crawling in that awful disguise! He was excluded from conversation, and Frederika comes and talks with him. She tries to sing, and proposes to go into the open air where she can sing her Alsatian and Swiss songs. There she captivates him with

"I come from a forest as dark as the night,
And believe me, I love thee, my only delight."

At night, the two visitors talk it all over. Frederika is not engaged, and never has been in love! Quite providential! The next day, the disguise was cast aside, and before night the young pair were both given up to the tender passion. This appears to have been a pure and beautiful meeting of two sympathetic souls, that might have been, and should have been, all the world to each other through life. We will not follow the history of the courtship, and the rupture which was brought about by Goëthe's pride, and his mortification with her rusticity. It was a cruel thing. He acknowledged his guilt. He never undertook to excuse it; and to our mind this was the turning point of his life. In the pride and egotism of genius, he had trampled upon the honest love of his own heart and the honest love of a maiden as beautiful as an angel and as pure as snow. What could there be left for him in the love of woman?

The man had become an author. He had written *Gotz von Berlichingen*, and with it in his port-folio found himself in Wetzler. He was but twenty-three years old at that time, notwithstanding he had had three loves, and abused the only pure one he ever had. The image of Frederika haunted him, and he could only banish it by entertaining another. He proceeded, therefore, to fall in love with Charlotte Buff, a good girl, sixteen years old, and for two years already betrothed to one Kestner, secretary to the Hanoverian legation. He was a sensible fellow, and a gentleman, or he would have broke Goëthe's head a hundred times. It would be hard to find in the whole field of human experience more graceful exhibitions of character than in this "Lotte" and her lover Kestner. Goëthe made no secret of his love, with either of them; and soon made no secret of its hopelessness. The closest friendship existed between the two lovers. The girl loved Kestner, and was true to him; Kestner loved Goëthe and never quarrelled with him, never interfered with his visits to "Lotte," and delicately pitied him. But Goëthe was obliged at last to tear himself away from the place. After he left, a melancholy young man, by name Jerusalem, committed suicide. Out of this suicide and his own unhappy passion for Lotte grew "Werther," a book translated into all languages, and producing in Germany an impression that the work itself, as we find it in English, does not explain. Once away from Lotte, about the first thing Goëthe did was to get up a small flirtation with a girl who in "Werther" figures as "M'lle B.," and who afterwards becomes the mother of Bettina, noticed further along in the history.

Two years after he kneeled half dying at the feet of Lotte, we find him at Frankfort, falling in love with Anna Sybilla Munch. In their parlour and picnic plays, the girl had strangely enough fallen three times to him in a mock lottery. She stimulated him to some literary efforts, and really hoped to marry him. His parents desired the union, and there seems to have been considerable work done to forward the match among outside parties. But he was in fact only an admirer of Anna, and the task of bringing the marriage about was abandoned as hopeless.

Goëthe's *penchant* for young girls is remarkable, and proves very thoroughly that he had little sympathy with the character of a true, mature woman. His next love was a girl whom he has immortalized as "Lili." Her real name is Anna Elizabeth Schonemann. She was the daughter of a wealthy Frankfort banker. Lili was the most charming and graceful of coquettes. She acknowledged to him that she was a coquette, but he bewitched her, as he had the power to bewitch most of the girls who attracted him. Both were sufficiently bewitched. She led a hard life among balls and parties and theatres and operas. She coquetted with, and cooled him, much to her own distress. But it was an unwelcome match to both houses. Nobody was pleased with it, though general consent was at last obtained. As soon as Goëthe found he could marry, he became cool, and grew uneasy with the idea. So he went to Switzerland "to see whether he could renounce her." While he was absent, the girl's friends tried to shake her determination, but she was firm, and declared herself ready to emigrate with Goëthe to America! Lewes says he was not strong enough to give her up, nor sufficiently in love with her to marry her. She toyed with him—killed him and resuscitated him daily. At last, the betrothal was cancelled—he was free—and ready to fall in love again at the first opportunity.

At the age of twenty-six, Goëthe went to Weimar, the principal scene of his subsequent life. He was at this time in the rudest health and the rudest mood, and, in company with Karl August, the ruler of the little Duchy, engaged in the rudest sports. Fifty-four years make a long period for residence in a city like that to which Goëthe thus resorted. There were women there, and, in the absence of stronger excitements, it was to be expected that Goëthe would fall in love without reserve, on all sides. German morals at this time were not in the purest condition. The author of *Werther* and *Gotz* was an attractive man to attractive women, and he found no difficulty in obtaining subjects for his experimental heart. Goëthe said to Eckerman that his first years at Weimar were "perplexed with love affairs." The Fraulein von Kalb, Corona Schroeter, and others came in for a share of Goëthe's attention. Corona was a singer, a beautiful and accomplished creature, an actress. It is affirmed, and we presume with reason, that the poet's connection with this woman was not a faultless one. If it was, to her be the credit, not to him.

But all this constellation of early Weimar loves grows pale by the side of the single star, the Frau von Stein. This was a long drawn, passionate flirtation or something worse. The Frau von Stein was the mother of seven children; and when Goëthe made her acquaintance was thirty-three years old. She sang exquisitely, sketched tastefully and accurately, talked divinely, loved poetry, had read philosophy, and knew how to manage men. Schiller, in writing of Goëthe's connection with her to Korner, pays an honest tribute to her charms, and says, "*They say* the connection is perfectly pure and harmless." Schiller was unsuspecting as a child, in many matters besides this. Goëthe wrote her more than a thousand letters, and she managed him very thoroughly. That she "had him" is pretty evident from the tone of his letters. Think of the author of Faust saying to her in writing, "As a sweet melody raises us to heaven, so is to me thy being and thy love. I move among friends and acquaintances everywhere as if seeking them; I find them not, and return into my solitude." And to this woman he could write of Frederika. He went to Strasburg and ran out to Drusenheim to see his first and best love. He saw her, and wrote to the Frau von Stein the details of an interview that should have made him a madman. She was composed, made no attempt to excite the old passion, and had refused all offers of marriage because, as she said, "the heart that once loved Goëthe can belong to no one else." Dear Frederika! He called on Lili at this time, and writes that he found her married, with a baby seven weeks old in her arms. Good for Lili!

But Goëthe must tear himself away from the Frau von Stein, and visit Italy. It was a hard parting. He was absent from Weimar about two years, and had not been a year away from the charmer before he became acquainted with a young Milanese girl. He was hit this time directly in the centre of his heart, and was pained to ascertain, at last, that the girl was betrothed to another. He manages, however, to live down his grief though not without producing such a change in the tone of his letters to the Frau von Stein, as to attract her notice.

His old intimacy with the Frau von Stein was not resumed on his return from Italy to Weimar. She had grown old, and he had been two years away from her—and in Italy. And now, a new figure appears. In the autumn of 1788, when Goëthe was thirty nine years old, a fresh, pretty girl appeared before him, with a petition for influence in behalf of her brother, who was none other than Vulpius, the author of the well-known romance of the old time *Rinaldo Rinaldini*. The girl's name was Christiane Vulpius. She was simply a pretty girl and presented peculiar attractions to a libertine. She was in no sense a highly gifted woman, yet she "completely fascinated" Goëthe. She became his mistress, and bore him a child. The whole thing was scandalous and outrageous. Well may the Frau von Stein have been indignant and disgusted, and well did Schafer say, "The nation has never forgiven its greatest poet for this rupture with law and custom." Yet he lives like this for ten or twelve years, and then, after she becomes a drunkard, fat and forty, he marries her! This was just to the woman, just to his children, and poetically just to himself. The man who had rejected Frederika, pledging fidelity to a bloated mistress who had outlived her charms!

But it is not to be supposed, of course, that during his connection with this woman she held undivided possession of his heart. We could tell of Bettina Brentano, but perhaps he was not so much to blame in that matter. She is a worshipper of Goëthe from afar, comes to Weimar, falls into his arms, and goes to sleep in his lap at the first interview! This was considered "steep," by a man who chose to do his own woman hunting, and he soon tired of her. She insulted his wife on one occasion; so he took the opportunity to cut her. Minna Herzleib, an adopted child of Frommann the bookseller, grew up from a child under his eye; and when she became a woman, this old man fell in love with her. Lewes says, "In the Sonnets addressed to her and in the novel of *Elective Affinities*, may be read the fervour of his passion and the strength with which he resisted." He was then sixty years old.

But our readers will get out of patience if we follow further. At seventy-four we find him in love again—this time with the Fraulien von Lewezow. The Fraulien was willing, and the old man was restored to the exaltation of the Werther period. He was inclined to marry, but was withheld by ridicule—the man who had lived ten years in the criminal commerce with the mother of his boy! We may not stop to count the number of loves that entertained "the great Goëthe" during his somewhat extended pilgrimage, nor can we review, to see where we have named them all. That he has won immortal credit for representing with the power of the highest genius the emotions and passions excited by means which were infamous, we have little doubt. His works are biographical. They are reproductions, very largely, of experiences and familiar observations. The women suffered, but literature has doubtless gained something. It were better for Goëthe if people would read his works and make no inquiry for him. His history will bring him few admirers and no friends. Ah! Frederika!—*Springfield Republican.*

JOHN ANDERSON, MY JO.

THIS exquisite ballad, constructed by Robert Burns out of a different and somewhat exceptionable lyric, has always left something to be wished for and regretted: it is not complete. But who would venture to *add* to a song of Burns? As Burns left it, it runs thus:

John Anderson, my jo, John,
When we were first acquent,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonnie brow was brent;
But now your brow is bald, John,
Your locks are like the snaw;
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson, my jo.

John Anderson, my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither;
And mony a canty day, John,
We've had wi' ane anither:
Now we maun totter down, John,
But hand in hand we'll go,
And sleep thegither at the foot,
John Anderson, my jo.

Fine as this is, it does not quite satisfy a contemplative mind: when one has gone *so far*, he looks and longs for something more—something *beyond the foot of the hill.* Many a reader of Burns must have felt this; and it is quite probable that many have attempted to supply the deficiency; but we know of only *one success* in so hazardous an experiment. This is the added verse:

John Anderson, my jo, John,
When we have slept thegither
The sleep that a' maun sleep, John,
We'll wake wi' ane anither:
And in that better warld, John,
Nae sorrow shall we know;
Nor fear we e'er shall part again,
John Anderson, my jo.

Simple, touching, true—nothing wanting, and nothing to spare; precisely harmonizing with the original stanzas, and improving them by the fact of completing them. This poetical achievement is attributed to Mr. Charles Gould, a gentleman of our town, whose life has been chiefly devoted to the successful combination of *figures*—but not figures of rhetoric. The verse was written some years ago, but it has not hitherto found its way into print; yet it well deserves to be incorporated with the original song in any future edition of Burns's Poems, and we hope some publisher will act on this suggestion.—*Home Journal.*

We agree with the editor of *The Home Journal*, at least so far as to acknowledge this addition to Burns's song very pretty. But here is another quite as good, which a correspondent of the *Evening Post* sends to that paper. He cut it, he says, from an old paper, published in Glasgow in the year 1807, *The Glasgow Family Visitor*, where it was attributed to Robert Grant, "one of the men of *esprit* of his time; a satirist and magazine writer; a great favourite of Burns in the poet's older days." Here it is:

"John Anderson, my jo, John,
We've found the mountain's fit,
And whether we gae lower, John,
Or up, I know not yit;
But whether with the just, John,
Or with the doomed below,
Ye hae a wife, to goe wi ye,
John Anderson, my jo."

FINLAND SONG.

Addressed by a Mother to her Child.

BY JOHN LEYDEN.

SWEET bird of the meadow, oh, soft be thy rest!
Thy mother will wake thee at morn from thy nest;
She has made a soft nest, little red-breast, for thee,
Of the leaves of the birch and the moss of the tree.
Then soothe thee, sweet bird of my bosom, once more!
'Tis Sleep, little infant, that stands at the door.
"Where is the sweet babe?" you may hear how he cries,
"Where is the sweet babe in his cradle that lies,
"In his cradle, soft swaddled in vestments of down?
"'Tis mine to watch o'er him till darkness be flown."

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

Sterne used to say, "The most accomplished way of using books is to serve them as most people do lords—learn their titles, and then brag of their acquaintance."

——The English papers report that Tennyson, the poet laureate, is pruning his poetic wings for a flight—epithalamium—on the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal.

——A GOOD FEE.—The Queen of Spain has presented Dr. Corrally Ona, who attended her in her confinement, with 1,000 ounces of gold in a richly chased silver box; also with a magnificent set of brilliants; and has, besides, conferred on him the title of Marquis del Real Acierto.

——REVOLTING SPECTACLE.—An advertisement in the *Liverpool Daily Post* states that an active servant is wanted, "who must be a plain cook and able to dress a little boy five years old." Are the advertisers Cannibals? And (we only ask for information) with what sauce do they eat little boys five years old?

——The *South Eastern Gazette*, speaking of some recent readings for the benefit of the Mechanics Institute at Rochester (England) by Mr. Dickens, says:

"Apart from Mr. Dickens being a resident near Rochester, the neighbourhood of that city has, if we may so speak, peculiar claims on that gentleman. In Chatham he spent a considerable portion of his early life; and that the associations connected with his early home were not forgotten, he proved by the fact that nearly all the incidents chronicled in his immortal 'Pickwick' are laid at either Rochester or Chatham, while many of the peculiar names of the prominent individuals made illustrious in those pages are almost indigenous to this neighbourhood."

——A touching custom has prevailed at Lyons for many years. The first child that is abandoned to the care of the Foundling Hospital the eve of Christmas day is received with peculiar honour, and attended to with every care. A very handsome cradle, prepared beforehand, receives its little body, the softest coverings give it warmth, the kindest solicitude watches over its slumbers. The whole is designed to present the strongest contrast to the scene in the stable in which the Saviour was received in entering on his earthly existence, and to show that the being seemingly condemned to perish, the victim of vice of misery, is saved by the birth of him who was sent on earth to inculcate charity and good will.

——Lord Macaulay has replied to Mr. Hepworth Dixon on the subject of William Penn and the Pardon-brokerage at Taunton. An elaborate note to the second volume of the new edition of the History of England sets forth the argument—"If it be said," his lordship concludes, "that it is incredible that so good a man would have been concerned in so bad an affair, I can only answer that this affair was very far indeed from being the worst in which he was concerned. For these reasons I leave the text, and shall leave it exactly as it originally stood." The *Athenæum* says the reason Macaulay gives for his statements will very much surprise his readers. It adds, "we firmly believe that there are only two opinions on the subject of this singular charge against Penn—on one side that of Baron Macaulay, on the other side that of the British public."

——Prince Napoleon has transmitted to the Committee of Council on Education a very interesting specimen of Gobelin tapestry, the subject being "Arria presenting the dagger to her husband Poetus after having stabbed herself." This piece of work was commenced under Louis XVI., was completed during the period of the French empire. It was given, on his marriage in 1807, to Jerome, King of Westphalia, by the Emperor, his brother. Prince Jerome has just given it to his son Prince Napoleon in order that it might be presented to the Museum of Art at South Kensington, as some proof of the interest which they both took in that establishment. Viewed for its money worth, this specimen must have been valued at about £2,000.

——ARSENIC IN PAPER-HANGINGS.—Dr. Alfred Swaine Taylor, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords last session, on the Sale of Poisons' Bill, after pointing out that arsenic was much used in several manufactures, such as in the manufacture of glass, especially opal glass, of shot, in the steeping of grain, and in killing the fly in sheep, states that the largest quantity of arsenic used in this country is used in the manufacture of paper for covering walls. He considered it very injurious to those living in houses papered with this article, as well as those employed in the manufacture. An instance was published in a medical work of some cases of illness occurring to persons living in a room papered with this paper, and the effects were described as those arising from arsenic. The colour, says Dr. Taylor, is put on very loosely; it contains nearly 50 per cent. of the poison. In addition to the above, Dr. Taylor handed in to the Committee an envelope, the green tint on the inside of which he examined, and found to be formed of arsenite of copper. There is also an orange yellow which contains arsenic.

——NEW AND FEARFUL MODE OF EXECUTION.—The following has been communicated to *The Poona Observer:*

"It appears from the journal of a European traveller that a new and fearful mode of execution has been adopted by the King of Delhi. The instrument and process are thus described: A box, each side of which is fifteen feet square, is constructed of timber about eighteen inches thick, dovetailed together, and braced with iron rods. The outside of the bottom of the box is covered with a plate of beaten iron one inch in thickness. The interior is filled with perfect cubes of granite, weighing in the aggregate several thousand tuns. A machine is erected after the manner of an ordinary spile driver, but of course on an enormous scale, and of tremendous strength. The mass is raised by powerful machinery, cast in Birmingham for the express purpose, though it is to be presumed the machinist by whom the work was furnished had no idea of the horrid purpose for which it was intended. The human victim is placed upon a block of granite, of a corresponding surface, buried in the earth immediately beneath the enormous mass, and covered with a plate of iron. At a signal given by the vicramadack, the executioner touches a spring, the mass falls, and the victim is crushed at once, is suddenly annihilated, and spread out like a sheet of pasteboard! The huge weight being again raised, the flattened body is withdrawn and dried in the sun. When completely prepared, it is hung over the wall of a public building, there to serve as a warning to the multitude."

——THE SMALL FOOT OF THE CHINESE WOMAN.—In the fifth girl I saw the commencement of the second operation—a torture under which sickly children frequently die. The sole of the foot was now curved into the shape of a bow; the great toe and the heel being brought together as near as possible. Take a jujube and double it till two points of the lozenge nearly meet, and you will see what I mean. This is done very gradually. The bandage is never slackened—month by month it is drawn tighter—the foot inflames and swells, but the tender mamma perseveres—as the bones and tendons accommodate themselves to the position constrained by the bandage, so it is drawn tighter. At last the ball of the natural foot fits into the hollow of the sole, the root of the great toe is brought into contact with the heel. The foot is a shapeless lump. The instep is where the ankle was, and all that is left to go into the slipper and to tread the ground is the ball of the great toe and the heel. This is the small foot of the Chinese woman—a bit of toe and a bit of heel, with a mark, like a cicatrice left after a huge cut, running up between them. Two of the girls were yet suffering great pain, and their feet were hot and inflamed, but in the eldest the operation was complete. She had attained to the position of a small-footed woman, and her feet were quite cool, had no corns, and were not tender to the touch. One of the mammas, influenced perhaps by a little liberality in the article of rice money, intrusted me with a Chinese *mystère de toilette*. Sometimes, it seems, when a woman is expected to have to do hard work, her toe and heel are not drawn so tightly together as to produce the true "small foot." To disguise this imperfection upon her marriage day she has recourse to art. A piece of cork, shaped like an inverted sugar-loaf, is strapped on to her foot, and the small part goes into her slipper and passes for her foot. Thus are we poor men deceived!—*Shanghai Cor. of The (London) Times.*

——BLIND GENIUS.—The annals of the blind are the annals of a wonderful people. We have had blind poets—the greatest of all, Milton. We have had blind men with inexhaustible memories, as James Wilson, who knew the *Army and Navy List* by heart, and used to inform his poorer friends, who had friends in either service. We have had—above the street class—blind musicians, as John Stanley, whom both Handel and Gazzini pronounced to be without a superior as a performer on the organ; and a blind choir, led by a blind organist, and performing the compositions of Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn, may now be seen and heard at the Blind School, St. George's Fields. We have had blind mathematicians, as the famous Saunderson, the Lucasian professor at Cambridge; blind naturalists, as Hubert, the author of a wonderful work on the "Germination of Seeds